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PART II**

RELIGION AND CULTURE OF THE JAINS

Edited by

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PREFACE

The eighth annual series of two days' inter-university seminars was held at our Centre of Advanced Study in February, 1972, on (1) Early Indian Trade and Industry, and (2) Religion and Culture of the Jains. The proceedings of the seminar on the first day were published sometime ago, and those of the second day's seminar on Religion and Culture of the Jains, together with the papers presented on the occasion, are now placed in the hands of the students of ancient Indian history.

The proceedings have been drawn up, as usual, on the basis of notes submitted by the Reporters. The papers, edited without changing the authors' ideas as far as possible, have been roughly arranged on a chronological basis. The editing work had to be done in a hurry because of my impending retirement on the 31st July, 1972, but still I have tried to do my best within the short time at my disposal.

The index of this volume has been prepared by Dr. S. K. Saha, a Research Associate at the Centre.

Centre of Advanced Study, Dept. of
Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Calcutta University, 51/2, Hazra Road,
Calcutta-19, 13th July, 1972

D. C. SIRCAR
Director

Proceedings of the Seminar

Second Day

Date 25th February, 1972.

Time 10-30 A M to 1 P M and 2 to 5 P M.

Subject : Religion and Culture of the Jains

Place . Lecture Hall, Department of Ancient
Indian History and Culture, Calcutta
University

Chairman PROF D C SIRCAR, Calcutta University

Participants besides the Chairman .

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|--|
| 1 | DR. L B KENY | Bombay University |
| 2 | DR SM R CHAMPAKALAKSHMI | Madras University |
| 3 | DR G. B UPRETI | Delhi University |
| 4 | SM. S. SENGUPTA | Do. |
| 5 | DR O. P VERMA | Nagpur University |
| 6 | DR A M SHASTRI | Do |
| 7 | DR B SRIVASTAVA | Banaras Hindu University |
| 8 | DR SM. S M DEVI | Patna University |
| 9 | DR N. N ACHARYA | Gauhati University |
| 10 | DR P K BHATTACHARYA | North Bengal University,
Raja Rammohanpur |
| 11 | DR SM B LAHIRI | Jadavpur University |
| 12 | DR A N LAHIRI | Calcutta University |
| 13 | DR. S. BANDYOPADHYAY | Do |
| 14 | SRI R K BHATTACHARYA | Centre of Advanced Study
in AIHC, Calcutta
University. |
| 15 | DR. SM. K. SAHA | Do. |
| 16 | DR A K CHATTERJEE | Do |
| 17 | DR. S P. SINGH | Do. |
| 18 | SM K. BAJPEYI | Do. |

and others

Reporters DR SM J. MAITRA
SM K BAJPEYI

Morning Session

The seminar started at 10-30 A.M. when Dr. A. N. Lahiri was invited by the Chairman to read his paper on 'The Conception of Tirthankaras in Jain Literature', in which he endeavoured to show the outward similarity and the fundamental difference between the Tirthankara tradition of the Jains and the Avatāravāda of the Hindus. He said that Jainism developed in North-Eastern India out of a strong reaction against the caste-oriented and ritualistic Brāhmanism. This heterodox religion owed its origin to non-Brāhmaṇa religious thinkers. The most important aspect of the Tirthankara legends is the attribution of a long life-span and supernatural powers to them and this differentiates them from the gods of the Hindu pantheon.

Prof. D. C. Sircar referred to the part played by imagination in Jain mythology and pointed out how the Jain writers excelled even the Purāṇic authors in introducing imaginary elements in their cosmographical speculations. He doubted the historicity of the tradition that Pārśvanātha flourished exactly 250 years before Mahāvīra and thought that the former flourished shortly before the latter. Dr. Lahiri wanted to know why the Tirthankaras were regarded as 24 in number. Prof. Sircar considered it difficult to determine though it reminds one of *caturvimśa-stoma*, *caturvimśati-smṛti*, etc., the conception of the 24 forms of the god Viṣṇu being apparently associated with the Jain tradition regarding 24 Tirthankaras. Dr. A. M. Shastri wanted to know as to which of these two concepts is earlier. Prof. Sircar pointed out the difficulty in determining the antiquity of the Jain tradition and was inclined to assign the Vaisnava tradition to a date not earlier than the Gupta age. Dr. Sm. R. Champakalakshmi observed that the *Periya Purāṇam*, written in the 12th or 13th century A. D., mentions 63 Nāyanmārs in imitation of the 63 Śālākāpuruṣas of the Jains.

Dr. Sm. R. Champakalakshmi next read her note on 'An Unnoticed Jain Cavern and Some Pallava Antiquities near

Madurantakam'. A range of low hills, locally called Pañcapāṇḍavamalai, lies near Madurantakam in the Chingleput District, Tamilnadu. They contain some natural caverns with chiselled rock beds used by the Jain ascetics for several centuries in the first millennium A. D. On the Karuppankunru rock, there are sculptures representing three Jain Tirthaṅkaras, viz. Ādinātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. An inscription on the same rock gives the name of the Jain teacher who caused the shrine to be made and was called 'the founder of the 24' (*Caturvīṃśati-sthāpaka*). Dr. Sm. Champakalakshmi thought that the number 24 was sacred to the Jains and was often used by them to form 'Committees of Twenty-four' for religious and social purposes.

Sri R. K. Bhattacharya observed that the Hindus considered the number 24 as auspicious from early times since the Gāyatrī-mantra consists of 24 syllables. Prof Sircar, Dr S R Das and others pointed out that there were several numbers regarded as auspicious in our early literature. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya then wanted to know whether there is any tradition connecting the Pañcapāṇḍavas with the above-mentioned hills. Sm. Champakalakshmi answered in the negative. Dr. L B Keny observed that many Buddhist caves were also named after the Pañcapāṇḍavas perhaps to denote their antiquity. Dr S R. Das agreed with Dr Keny and said that everywhere in India ancient sites are associated with the epic heroes. Prof Sircar pointed out that the South Indian Kistvaens are called Pāndukuli or the Paṇḍavas' mounds. He also pointed out that a locality at Nander to the south of the Godāvarī is regarded by the local people as the place where Draupadī's marriage took place. Prof Sircar further observed that on the Kauleśvarī hill near Huntergunge in the Hazaribag District in Bihar, Jain Tirthankara images engraved in relief are called the Pāṇḍava brothers by the local people.

Dr. A K Chatterjee then read his paper on 'Jinasena's *Harivamśa*'. Dr. Chatterjee pointed out that the work is similar to Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* which is the Sanskrit translation of Guṇḍāhya's *Bṛhatkathā*. Jinasena has described

in greater details the achievements of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and, in doing so, he has followed the Vaiṣṇava *Harivamśa*, but deliberately distorted the epic account and has offered a new version. He referred to the ruling dynasties and mentioned the names of contemporary kings. Of those families, Dr. Chatterjee said, the Khadgas ruled in East Bengal in the 7th century A D and the Mallas were probably the Mallas of Mahābodhi mentioned in an inscription of Dharmapāla. He further referred to the duration of Gupta rule given by Jināsena as 231 years and the mention of Karnasuvarna by the latter.

Dr S R Das wanted to know the date of Jināsena. Dr Chatterjee answered that the date is given by the author himself in the colophon of the work as Śaka 705, corresponding to 783 A D. As regards the tradition about the duration of Gupta rule for 231 years, Prof. D. C Sircar observed that the same tradition is mentioned side by side with another giving the duration as 255 years in the Jain work *Tiloyapammattī* by Jādī Vasaha and pointed out that both of them may be regarded as correct, the first suggesting the collapse of Gupta rule in U P about 550 A D and the latter pointing to its extirpation in Orissa about 574 A. D. Prof Sircar further observed that the Mallas might be those of the age of the Buddha and doubted whether the Khadgas were the same as those ruling in Bengal. He did not believe that the *Kathā-saritsāgara* is an exact Sanskrit translation of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* since the Vikramāditya section must have been later interpolated. He further pointed out that both the Buddhists and the Jains enjoyed distorting stories found in Brāhmanical literature.

Dr A M Shastri next read his paper entitled 'Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu' in which he tried to prove that the contemporaneity of Śrūtaśālin, Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira contemplated by Merutuṅga and Rājaśekharaśūri must be rejected as it goes against Varāhamihira's own work. An examination of the available *Bhadrabāhusaṃhitā* proves that it has nothing to do with any of the personages bearing the name Bhadrabāhu and that it is later than Varāhamihira's

Brhatsamhitā to which it is greatly indebted. The text, Dr Shastri said, belongs to the Digambara sect of Jainism, though a critical examination of its contents reveals the fact that, in all probability, it was originally a Brāhmanical work and was given a Jain appearance at a later date by adding a few Jain elements here and there. Prof D C Sircar observed that the Jain traditions regarding the contests between Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira remind one of similar traditions about the rivalry between Gunādhyā and Śarvavarman as found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Prof Sircar also pointed out how Varāhamihira is associated with Vikramāditya in some traditions and with the Nandas in others though there was no king named Vikramāditya before the Gupta age. Dr. Shastri said that the Digambara tradition connects Bhadrabāhu with Candragupta Maurya and the Śvetāmbara tradition with the Nandas, so that Varāhamihira, mentioned as a contemporary of Bhadrabāhu, is placed by them in the same age. Dr Upreti did not accept the idea that Varāhamihira superseded Āryabhaṭa. Dr Shastri did not consider the point as relevant to his paper. Dr S R. Das wanted to know when the Magas came to India, because Varāhamihira is referred to by Dr Shastri as a Maga Brāhmana. Prof Sircar and Dr Shastri thought that the Magas came to India with the Scythians who entered the Indus Valley from Eastern Iran. Prof Sircar observed that, in the second century A D, Ptolemy mentions the Maga-Brāhmanas settled even in the Far South of India.

Sm S Sengupta next read her paper on 'Jain Cosmography'. She dealt with the Jain theory of the origin and shape of the universe. Jain cosmography, she pointed out, is based on the ideas of the Brāhmanical Purānas, but is represented as different from them in certain respects. The Jains criticised the Brāhmanical and Buddhist view points, according to which the world is created and destroyed by reason of the combination and disintegration of a number of elements (*jada*) and consciousness (*cetaṇa*), which are eternal. Prof Sircar observed that the Jains exhibited a passion for

exaggerating the imaginary details of their cosmography more conspicuously than the Hindus. Dr. Keny wondered whether Sm. Sengupta tried to understand the Jain ideas within the present day knowledge of the subject. Dr. A. N. Lahiri remarked that the ancient people had no scientific basis for their ideas so that their process of thinking was different. Prof. Sircar opined that, in reality, Jain cosmography was an elaboration of the Brāhmanical ideas, the details being clothed in excessive imagination. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay referred to some writings on Jain cosmography, which Sm. Sengupta could have consulted with benefit.

Dr. Sm. R. Champakalakshmi then read her paper on 'Jainism in Tondaimandalam' in which she surveyed the available evidence, both epigraphical and literary, regarding the appearance of Jainism in Tondaimandalam. On the basis of a Digambara tradition, she attributed the advent of Jainism in South India to the migration of the Jain community under the Śrutakevalin Bhadrabāhu to the Mysore region at the beginning of the 3rd century B. C. Prof. Sircar remarked that epigraphical evidence points to the existence of Jainism side by side with Brāhmanism and Buddhism in all parts of South India during the early centuries of the Christian era. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya referred to the Jain Brāhmanas of Gujarat, and Prof. Sircar remarked that the Brāhmanas who worked particularly for the Jain community are called Jain Brāhmana. Sri A. K. Chakravarti said that the traditional caste division was accepted by the Jains and the Buddhists.

The morning session ended for the lunch interval at 1 p.m.

Afternoon Session

After resumption of the session in the afternoon, Dr. Sm. K. Saha read her paper on 'Some Festivals and Fasts of the Jains', in which she discussed both Śvetāmbara and Digambara festivals. Prof. Sircar remarked that many of these fasts and festivals, well known to the students of Jainism, were observed

also by the Buddhists as well as the Brāhmanical Hindus. He referred to the division of the year into three seasons (consisting of four months each) which ended on the full-noon days of Phālguna, Āṣāḍha and Kārttika and said that the month of Caitra was regarded as holy by the Jains. Śrī B. P. Mishra wanted to know whether Caitra-pūrṇimā was considered sacred by the Hindus. Dr. A. K. Chatterjēe remarked that the Caitra festival is referred to by Āpastamba.

Śrī R. K. Bhattacharya next read his note on 'A Summary of Jain Philosophy'. In it he discussed the theory of Cosmography and of Karman and its kinds, etc. Prof. Sircar requested Śrī Bhattacharya to explain Syādvāda, but the latter found it difficult to do so. Prof. Sircar observed that the paper is not a clever exposition of the philosophical ideas of the Jains.

Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay next read his paper entitled 'Textile Industry described in an Early Jain Text' which was based on the *Angavijjā*. Prof. Sircar remarked that *kṣauma* and *dukūla* are often regarded as synonymous, but sometimes as different so that the real difference between the two names is difficult to determine. Dr. A. K. Chatterjēe thought that the paper deals only with some technical terms relating to the textile industry. Dr. K. K. Dasgupta wanted to know whether the technique of textile weaving is referred to in the *Angavijjā*. Dr. Bandyopadhyay answered in the negative. Dr. A. M. Shāstri doubted whether *Cīna* and *cīnapaṭṭa* can be classed in the *mūla* category. Prof. Sircar also thought the expression *mūlayonigata* as ambiguous.

Next Dr. L. B. Keny read his note on 'The Primitive in Jainism'. He commented on Mrs. Stevenson's view on certain traditions regarding the Tirthaṅkaras and endeavoured to show that Indian legends are not totally detached from genuine historical traditions. The accounts of the Jains, he held, reflect their ignorance of time and space. The primitive concept of measurement with the help of bow and arrow definitely indicates that they were well known to the people during the time of the Tirthaṅkaras. The bow and arrow, still forming the weapons of a large number of Indian tribes,

can be associated with a definite civilization. Another interesting traditional description of the Jains relates to the emblems which came to be gradually associated with the 24 Tirthankaras. There seems to be a probability that these indicate tribal marks or totems. Prof. Sircar, whose approach was somewhat different from Dr. Keny's, agreed with Mrs. Stevenson that the high stature attributed to the previous Jain Tirthankaras should be taken with a grain of salt. He referred to Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* mentioning king Ranāditya who is said to have ruled for 300 years. He further pointed out that *dhanus* and *hasta* were both regarded as units of measurement in ancient Indian literature, and that *dhanus* was not peculiar to the Jains, but was common to the Indians in general. While discussing the symbols associated with the Tirthankaras, Prof. Sircar further remarked that so many of them cannot possibly be regarded as totems connected with a single community. Dr. S. R. Das thought that there may be many totemic groups in a single tribe. Prof. Sircar, however, drew attention to the fact that, while literary evidence represents the Śaka tree as intimately associated with the Śākya tribe apparently as a totem, the Buddha is represented by various symbols such as the Bodhi tree, lotus and elephant, but not the Śaka tree. The Kadāmbas were likewise associated with the Kadamba tree which was, however, neither their crest nor the emblem on their *dhvaja*. Dr. K. K. Dasgupta remarked that all the Jain symbols cannot be associated with particular tribes.

Sm. K. Bajpeyi next read her paper entitled 'Jainism in the Early Inscriptions of Mathurā'. Prof. Sircar laid emphasis on the importance of the inscriptions from Mathurā for the reconstruction of the early history of Jainism. The epigraphic references to the *Gana*, *Kula*, *Śākhā*, etc., among the Jains, he said, are earlier than most of the early Jain works as they have come down to us.

Dr. S. P. Singh then read his paper on 'Jainism and Jain Relics in Bihar'. Prof. Sircar pointed out that there are some

omissions in Dr. Singh's treatment of the subject. He particularly referred to the Kauleśvarī hill under the Hantergunje Police Station in the Hazaribag District, where several images of the Tirthaṅkaras are found. Sri A. K. Jha referred to some Jain temples and an image of Ādinātha of about the 4th century A. D. Dr. S. R. Das said that he visited many old Jain temples with the icons of Tirthankaras in the interior of the Singhbhum–Manbhum region.

Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read a note on 'the Earliest Form of Jainism'. He did not accept the view that Jainism originated with Pārśvanātha, who died 250 years before the death of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, because the Jain religious texts show that 22 other prophets flourished before Pārśvanātha one after another, having a considerable period of gap between any two of them. He referred to Ṛṣabha and his ancestors mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. Prof. Sircar regarded the earlier 22 Jain Tirthaṅkaras as mythical personages and did not attach any importance to the mediaeval *Bhāgavata Purāna* legend of Ṛṣabha represented there as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Prof. D. C. Sircar next read his note entitled 'A Jain Tradition' in which he discussed the *Nemināthacarīu* reference to the coins of Cālukya Mūlarāja. Prof. Sircar drew attention to the gold coins bearing the figure of goddess Lakṣmī and issued by Mūlarāja as referred to in the colophon of Haribhadra's *Nemināthacarīu* composed in the year 1159 A. D. He said that this Mūlarāja must be Mūlarāja I of the Cālukya or Solankī dynasty of Gujarat who ruled in 961-96 A. D. because Mūlarāja II of the same family reigned in 1176-78 A. D., i.e. sometime after the composition of the *Nemināthacarīu*. Prof. Sircar regarded the said tradition recorded about a century and a half after the death of Mūlarāja I as genuine, because in ancient and mediaeval India, coins, once in the market, remained in circulation for centuries. He considered it possible that Haribhadra saw some such coins. As regards the absence of any coin bearing the name of Mūlarāja, Prof. Sircar suggested that they may have been issued either without the king's name or in a small quantity. Dr. A. M. Shastri agreed

with Prof Sircar. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay observed that the reference to Mūlarāja's coin in the *Nemināhacariu* has already been noticed by U P Shah and R C. Agrawala

The afternoon session of the Seminar ended at 5 p m with Prof D C Sircar's hearty thanks to all the participants. He appealed to the representatives of the various universities to forgive the organisers of the Seminars for the inconveniences they might have experienced during their short stay in Calcutta. Dr L B. Keny expressed the sense of gratitude of the assembled scholars to Prof Sircar. Dr. A. M. Shastri, Dr O. P. Verma and others paid their tribute to the Chairman and expressed their satisfaction at the success of the Seminars.

THE PRIMITIVE IN JAINISM

L. B. Keny, St. Xavier's College, Bombay University

"The genius of the people of India", says Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, "does not lie in historical research ; to them meta-physical thought is the chief end of man, and they are content to leave to western scholars the task of filling in the large gaps of unexplored country in their history." "It is", she continues, "the misfortune of Jainism that so much of its life story falls within these unexplored tracts of time, and though the Jainas have kept historical records of their own, it is very difficult to correlate these records with known facts in the world's history."¹ In this paper an attempt is made to challenge as well as to refute the statement of Mrs Stevenson

The Indian legends are not totally detached from Indian historical traditions. The Jain legends, therefore, contain latent historical facts though they are mixed up with traditions. The Jains respect their twenty-four Tirthankaras, the first being Rṣabhadeva and the last Vardhamāna. The traditional account of the Jains reflects a miserable ignorance of time and space, though it may be that they indicate their hoary past and therefore refer to the primitive state of their civilization

Referring to the duration of the interval between the different prophets, the Jains start with '50 lakhs of crores of of *sāgara*' of time between Rṣabhadeva and Ajitanātha, the second prophet. The later Tirthankaras, however, have considerably a shorter span of interval between them ; e.g., '45 lakhs of years' between the 19th and 20th Tirthankaras. The change from *sāgara* to 'years' is very significant. The change reflects a primitive concept of time to a civilized one.

Like the primitive concept of the time factor, the Jain tradition reflects a primitive concept of measurement. It is a

¹ *The Heart of Jainism*, p 7.

well-known fact that the traditional height of the first Tirthankara is '500 bow-shots' while that of the 22nd is '10 bow-shots'. It is quite interesting to note that the 12th Tirthankara Vasupūjya is '70 arrow-shots'. The reference to bows and arrows is not the result of the Jain tradition being involved in a 'metaphysical thought', but it definitely indicates the concept of measurement with the help of the bows and arrows which were well known to the people during the time of these Tirthankaras.* The bow and arrow have a definite history with a definite period of civilization. These weapons are primitive phases of the Jain tradition. The bow and arrow still form the weapons of a large number of Indian tribals.

Another interesting tradition of the Jains relate to the various emblems associated with the 24 Tirthankaras. To put them in their chronological sequence they are the Bull, Elephant, Horse, Ape, Goose, Lotus flower, Svastika, Moon, Crocodile (Crab), Śrīvatsa, Rhinoceros, Buffalo, Boar, Hawk, Thunderbolt, Antelope, Goat, Nandyāvartta, Waterjar, Tortoise, Aśoka tree (Lotus), Conch-shell, Snake and Lion. There seems to be a probability that these emblems indicate tribal marks or totems. The Jain Tirthankaras were not associated with any particular marks in the beginning. Several of them, however, were endowed with the emblems at a later date. The emblems came gradually to be represented on their seats. Some of them, being animals, were converted into their vehicles. But the marks like the moon, water jar, lotus and conch-shell could not be conceived as vehicles since they were not animals. This suggests that the other animals too were originally not vehicles, but totems or tribal marks.² The 23rd Tirthankara Pārśvanātha has the snake as his emblem. It is not an accident that the snake became a symbol in Jainism. Ancient Indian sculpture is replete with pictures of men and women having serpent hood over their heads. They seem to represent people having the snake as their tribal mark.

*[Measurement by bow-shot seems to be imaginary; but one bow-length equal to four cubits was well known —Ed.]

² Cf. Keny, 'The Nāgas in Magadha', *JBORS*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 163 note 1. [See p. 8 above —Ed.]

It is quite probable that Pārśvanātha belonged to the tribe of the Nāgas. The worship of the *nāgas* is popular with a number of Indian tribes like the Bhils and Mundas. Evidences of fights between the Aryans and the Nāgas and instances of their marriages with each other are well known in ancient Indian literature. It is also a well-known fact that the Aryans offered the Nāgas in sacrifices, burning them alive. It appears that these Nāgas were people whose tribal mark was the serpent ³. Marks like the crab, tortoise, conch-shell, etc., are associated with various tribes and they reflect the environment of the people from whose tribal groups the Tirthaṅkara hailed ⁴.

According to the Jain tradition Mahāvira was enlightened while seating under the Aśoka tree. The association of a tree with a Jain Tirthankara reflects the sanctity of trees among the tribal people like the Oraon, Birhor, Munda and Gond.

The worship of funeral structures was an essential part of Jainism. This tradition is pre-Aryan and non-Aryan. To some extent, the worship of the dead and the later practice of the *Śrāddha* offering for the salvation of the souls of ancestors indicate the tribal worship of the dead. Jainism seems to have adopted this primitive custom of the tribals ⁴.

The philosophy of Jainism gives a due place to the Yakṣas or spirits, both wicked and kind. These are characteristics of the cult of primitive tribes.

The above evidences indicate the impact of primitive ideas on Jainism ^{**}. There is a probability of a better historical assessment of the Jain traditions and legends with the help of anthropologists and archaeologists.

3 Cf Guseva, *Jainism*, pp 35-36

*[Of the Tirthaṅkaras, Pārśva and Mahāvira are the only two historical figures and, of these two, there are many traditions about the latter. None of them, however, connects the lion, Mahāvira's emblem, with the clan to which he belonged.—Ed.]

4 *Bihar through the Ages*, p 82, cf Ghurye, *The Aborigines so called and their Future*

^{**}[None of the old religions is free from such influence.—Ed.]

The present paper makes no claim to precision, but makes an attempt to project some of the issues in the light of which the Jain traditional accounts need to be re-considered anthropologically and archaeologically. It seeks to suggest that a fruitful line of investigation lies in a combined research in anthropology, archaeology and history, and not each left to itself. The question remains how well this approach works *

*[See above, p 8 —Ed]

II.

JAIN COSMOGRAPHY

Sm. Sudha Sengupta, Delhi University

The question about the origin and shape of the universe we live in engaged the attention of men from time immemorial and numerous speculations were made by thinkers of all ages. This is evident in the religious literatures. Whereas the question of the origin and eternity or otherwise has been tried to be solved in the Brāhmanical literature in various ways, the Buddha dismissed it outright as *avyākata* or inexplicable and unnecessary. The Jains also propounded some theories, criticising both the Brāhmanical and Buddhist points of view, according to which the world is created and destroyed by reason of the combination and disintegration of a number of elements (*jada*) and consciousness (*cetana*), which are eternal. As the component parts are eternal, so, in spite of the apparent changes, the world is also eternal, without primordium or annihilation. For them, therefore, there is no cosmogony.

But they have a well-defined cosmography almost on the lines of the Brāhmanical Purāṇas, but at the same time considerably different from them in certain respects, particularly regarding the theory of the heavens and hells. Indian cosmography as a whole is quite interesting and Jain cosmography, which is a part thereof, may be said to be the more interesting. A few of its salient features may be mentioned here. In the first place, the cosmographical details are worked out in an elaborate plane, secondly, the details have close connection with the Jain metaphysical and ethical doctrines, thirdly, the entire range of Jain literature is so much permeated with these details that a clear understanding of them needs a constant reference to standard works on cosmography, and lastly, there is found in them, a good deal of knowledge of contemporary mathematics¹. For these reasons, the study of

¹ *Jambudīpapañnattisaṃgaha* (ed. H. L. Jain and A. N. Upadhye, Jain Samskrit Samrakshaka Samgha, Sholapur), Intr., p. 10 (henceforth mentioned as JPS)

cosmography seems not only popular, but also an important subject of study for the Jains.

Corresponding to the *Jambudvīpa-varṇanā* of the Brāhmanical texts there are a number of texts in Jainism in connection with Jambudvīpa, like the sixth Upāṅga *Jambudīpapannatī* and post-canonical works like Umāsvatī's *Jambudīpasamāsa*, Haribhadra's *Jambudīvasaṅghāyam*, and Padmanandin's *Jambudīvapannattisaṅgaha* (JPS).²

The shape of the world in the Jain texts is compared to 'a woman with her arms akimbo'³ or, in older accounts, to the figure of a man. It is also 'compared with a three-dimensional figure 8', the upper and lower loops⁴ representing the upper and the lower world, while the middle portion, i.e., the junction of the two loops, which may be the waist of 'the man—represents the world we live in and is called Jambudvīpa. This Jambudvīpa, which is round like the sun and of immense dimension, is at the centre of the horizontal disc and separated from each other by oceans. At the centre of Jambudvīpa and therefore of the world, stands the great Mount Meru or Mandara,⁵ which is fabulously high. The Jambudvīpa has thirteen divisions, of which there are seven *kṣetras*, viz. Bharata, Haimavata, Harivarṣa, Videha or Mahāvideha, Rāmyaka, Haimanyavat and Airāvata, and six *kūlaparvatas*, viz. Himavat or Cūlahimavat, Mahāhimavat, Niṣadha, Nīla, Rūpya or Rukmin and Śikharin. Of these, Himavat and Śikharin are made of gold and the others of different precious stones. The great river Gaṅgā flows from the Padmaḥṛd on the Himavat mountain and, flowing for 500 *yojanas*, enters into a big lake at the foot of the same mountain, in its course, it washes many an image of the Jina.⁶

Uttarakuru is regarded as a land of the blessed in Brāhmanical literature. In the Jain cosmography, Uttarkuru

² *Loc cit*

³ *ERE*, Vol IV, pp 160-61.

⁴ *Loc cit*

⁵ For the dimension and description of the Meru-parvata, cf *JPS*, Ch IV, 21-40

⁶ *JPS*, p 33.

is placed between the Gandhamādana and Mālyavat mountains. It is to the east of the Gandhamādana and the west of the Mālyavat and to the north of the Meru and the south of the Nila. The texts give a 'detailed' description of the lakes, rivers, mountains and mansions wherein deities live.⁷ Another place called Devakuru is placed to the south of the Mandara.⁸

The Jain cosmographical accounts mention the Bharata and Airāvata regions of Jambudvīpa and also two continents besides Jambudvīpa, which are separated from it by impassable seas, are exactly like Jambudvīpa in all respects and are called Dhātakikhanda and Puṣkarārdha or Puskaradvīpa. Both of them have the eastern and western Bharata and Airāvata *kṣētras*. Thus it makes a total of ten regions: Jambudvīpa having two and Dhātakikhanda and Puṣkarārdha four each. To each of these regions, is allotted twenty-four past, present and future Tīrthankaras.⁹ Bharatavarṣa, i.e. India, is said to be a small portion in the southern side of Jambudvīpa.

The upper and lower worlds, i.e., the heaven and hell, are described in Jain cosmographical works in detail. They start from the bottom, i.e., the hell and proceed upwards to heaven, via the earth which stands at the centre. There are seven lower regions, one below the other, which are named—from top to bottom—Ratnaprabhā, Śarkarāprabhā, Vālukāprabhā, Paṃkṣaprabhā, Dhūmaprabhā, Tamahprabhā and Mahātamahprabhā, each of which contains numerous hells where people committing different grades of sin are sent to undergo punishment of varying degrees. The lowermost naturally are the worst of all. The periods of stay in these hells also are fixed according to the gravity of the sins committed. These regions are separated from each other by thick layers of vacuum with no inhabitants. Only in the layer between the uppermost nether region and the earth, there lives a class of gods, known

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 100ff

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 103

⁹ For a comparative study, refer to the cosmographical sections of the Purāṇas

as Bhavanavāsīn, who are the Nāgas, Asuras, Suparnas, etc.¹⁰

The series of heavens start above Mount Meru in a number of stages. First, there are three tiers or Vimānas which are the habitats of Vaimānika gods. The first of them is a set of 12 Kalpas, preceded by 9 Graiveyakas, and above them are the 5 Anuttaras. [The name *Graiveyaka* comes from *grīvā* or neck of the cosmic Puruṣa] The souls attaining the Anuttara heaven will have no more than two rebirths before complete emancipation. The topmost region of the Anuttara heaven is called Sarvārthasiddha, above which is the top of the Universe, in the shape of an umbrella of huge dimension, named *Ṛṣatprāgbhāra*, where emancipated souls have their final rest.¹¹

The planetary world, i.e., the Sun, Moon and the constellations, revolve round Mount Meru, each having a presiding deity. A peculiar notion of the Jains is that the whole planetary system has a duplicate, each set covering only half of the journey. While one works, the other rests, and when the latter takes over, the former takes rest, so that we can see only one of them whereas in reality they are two.

As in the Brāhmanical theories, according to Jain mythology also, the wheel of time moves continuously with the rim going up and down alternately. The period designating the downward movement is called *Avasārpini* and the upward one is known as *Utsārpini*. These two main periods are again subdivided into six periods according to the degree of happiness or misery enjoyed or suffered by the people born in them. The physical stature and life-span of men vary according to the influence of these ages. The height and life-span gradually decrease in the *Avasārpini* era while they increase gradually in the *Utsārpini*.¹²

10 Bühler, *Indian Sect of the Jains* (reprint, 1963), p. 48; *JPS*, pp. 234ff.

11 *JPS*, Ch. xi.

12 *ERE*, Vol. IV, pp. 160-61; *SBE*, Vol. XLV, Ch. XXXVI—*Uttarā-dhyayana Sūtra*.

Thus, the Jain account of Jambudvīpa agrees more or less with the Epic and Purāṇic accounts. For want of space, it is not possible to discuss them in detail.¹³ Though the Jains claim to be very rational, their cosmography is not less imaginary than that of the Brāhmaṇical thinkers

13 See Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 272ff.

III

THE CONCEPTION OF TĪRTHANKARAS IN JAIN MYTHOLOGY

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There is some outward similarity between the Tirthaṅkara myth of the Jains and the *Avatāravāda* of the Hindus. The Tirthaṅkaras, numbering twenty-four, play the same role of 'Saviour of the Faith' as their ten *avatāra* counterparts. But there is a fundamental difference between the two. According to the *Avatāravāda*, the same divine agent appears again in various forms or incarnations to save the religion from corruption and decay; but, according to the Tirthaṅkara myth, different human agents make their successive appearances avowedly for the same purpose. This is due to a basic difference in the thinking process of the myth-makers of the two religions.

Jainism grew in North-Eastern India out of a strong reaction against the caste-oriented and ritualistic Brāhmanical religion. People of the region, who were Non-Aryan in origin but were ultimately taken into the Aryan fold, evidently could not adjust their basically different religious ideas with the ritualistic practices of the Brāhmanical Hindus and their conception of the inviolability of the Vedas and the eternal existence of divinities. This reaction was all the more pronounced amongst the neo-Kṣatriya who could not stand the supremacy of the Brāhmanas. It happened in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., and, as a result, quite a few heterodox religions like Jainism and Buddhism came into being under the leadership of various religious thinkers, all of whom, it is needless to say, were non-Brāhmanas.*

In the Brāhmanical religion, gods, eternal and all-powerful, play an important role, since they have amongst them the

*[Some of them like Pūraṇa Kāśyapa were Brāhmanas according to scholars —Ed.]

'creator' and the 'regulator' of the universe. But the reaction that formulated the ideas which went to the making of the Jain religion, dispensed with the notion of the eternal existence of any being, divine or human. Of course, it had ultimately to admit the firmly-rooted Brāhmanical divinities in its mythology, but they were relegated to inferior positions and were considered to be mortals like other living beings.

Mahāvira, a neo-Kṣatriya prince of the Jñātṛka clan of Vaiśālī, who renounced worldly comforts and ultimately attained sainthood, gave concrete shape to what is known as Jainism. As it appears, he was not, however, the virtual founder of the religion, for he evidently incorporated in its creed some important ideas propounded by an earlier teacher, Pārśva by name.

It was after the death of Mahāvira that his followers codified what Mahāvira—or for that matter, both Pārśva and Mahāvira—preached. To their followers, however, both the teachers were the greatest personalities enjoying supernatural powers. They would have deified them straightway, as is the general tendency amongst the followers of great religious teachers in India; but the fact that the teachers did not believe in the supremacy of gods dissuaded them from doing so. Nevertheless, they placed them at the highest level of sainthood and applied to them the epithet *tīrthakara* or *tīrthāṅkara*, meaning 'one who makes a *tīrtha* or ford' for crossing the river of worldly sorrows. The Tīrthāṅkaras were thus not only the preachers of the faith, but also the redeemers of its followers.

The Jains, however, were not at all in favour of calling Pārśva and Mahāvira the founders of their faith, which, for the sake of respectability, had to be declared as eternal. But the religion which did not have any beginning or end is bound to be corrupted in course of time and would need the appearance of a number of preachers and redeemers at intervals. Only two teachers, Pārśva and Mahāvira, who were but mortals, could not perform the task. Myth-makers rose to the occasion and conceived the existence of as many as twenty-

four Tirthankaras who appeared one after the other—and of course at intervals—to save the religion from corruption and decay. But this scheme holds good only for the present age or *Avasarpinī*. What about the past and the future ages? For them also was allotted a band of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras each. Then, since, according to the Jain cosmology, the universe has ten worlds (or a sort of continents) like Jambudvīpa-Bharata where we live, each world was allotted, for its past, present and future eras, three bands of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras, which make the total number of Tirthaṅkaras as many as 720 ($24 \times 3 \times 10 = 720$). We are provided with the names of all the seven hundred and twenty Tirthaṅkaras; but minute details are given only for the twenty-four belonging to the present age of Jambudvīpa-Bharata alone.

The myth-makers then tried to solve the problem of the vastness of the present era by allotting an ever-increasing life-span to each preceding Tirthaṅkara as well as by gradually extending the time-gap between any particular Tirthaṅkara and his preceding counterpart. Thus, while the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara Mahāvīra lived for 72 years, Pārśva who just preceded him, had a life-span of 100 years; and his two predecessors, Ariṣṭanemi and Naminātha, lived for 1000 and 10,000 years respectively. In this way, the first Tirthaṅkara, viz. Ṛṣabha, was thought of as having a fantastic life-span of 8,400,000 *pūrva* or great years. Again, while the time-gap between Mahāvīra and Pārśva was of 250 years, that between Pārśva and Ariṣṭanemi was considerably increased; and, again, the interval between the latter and his predecessor Naminātha was still further extended; and in this way, the ultimate interval between the second and first Tirthankaras rose to many millions of years.

Besides having ever-increasing life-spans, each earlier Tirthaṅkara was of ever-increasing height. Thus, while the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara had a moderate height of seven cubits,* his two predecessors Pārśva and Ariṣṭanemi were res-

*[This is abnormal.—Ed.]

pectively nine cubits and ten poles high. And finally the first Tirthankara Rṣabha had a fantastic height of 500 poles or nearly two miles.

The Jain myth-makers have handed down to us individual accounts of all the twenty-four Tirthankaras from Rṣabha to Mahāvīra. Besides investing each of them with 'thirty-six superhuman attributes of most extraordinary character', they have furnished us with other necessary particulars in a highly schematised and set pattern, viz (1) *Vimāna* (heaven from which he descended for incarnation), (2) place of birth as well as consecration (*dīkṣā*), (3) names of father and mother, (4) complexion, (5) cognizance (*cihna* or *lāñchana*), (6) height, (7) age, (8) *dīkṣā-vṛkṣa*, (9) attendant spirits (Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī), (10) first *ganadhara* (male disciple) and first *āryā* (female disciple).

We are also provided with a few other items of information such as the Tirthankara's family, places of his attainment of enlightenment (*kēvala-jñāna*) and deliverance in bliss (*mokṣa*) or death as well as the posture in which he obtained *mokṣa*. This additional information is highly interesting, for, even though painfully stereotyped, some diversions, apparently arbitrary, have been introduced lest people should think that the information is too schematised to be true. All the Tirthankaras were born in the most renowned Kṣātriya royal families—twenty-two in the Ikṣvāku-kula and two, viz Munisuvrata and Neminātha, in the Hārī-vāṃśa. All received *dīkṣā* in the respective places of their birth. All obtained *jñāna* also at the respective places of their birth, except Rṣabha, Neminātha and Mahāvīra. Twenty of them had their *mokṣa* on Sametaśikhara, except Rṣabha, Vāsupūjya, Neminātha and Mahāvīra. *Kāyotsarga* is the posture in which as many as twenty-one Tirthankaras obtained *mokṣa*, while Rṣabha, Neminātha and Mahāvīra died in *Padmāsana*.

It is evident that the original scheme of the Tirthankara myth was embellished with painfully boring and schematised details only at a much later date, when Jainism spread to Western India. Many of the anecdotes that find their place

in the mythology of the Jains are evidently adopted from the mainstream of India's traditional ideas.

The story that Mahāvīra was originally conceived by a Brāhmaṇa woman, but that the embryo was transferred by a god to the womb of a Kṣatriya lady is interesting in this respect. That a miracle should happen in connection with the birth of the most renowned and revered Tīrthaṅkara was recognised ; so the miraculous transfer of the embryo was conceived apparently on the analogy of the similar miracle associated with the birth of the Hindu *avatāra* Kṛṣṇa. This conception brings out another significant fact. It shows the bias of the Jains against the Brāhmaṇa and their preference for the Kṣatriya. A Brāhmaṇa mother was not worthy enough to give birth to a Tīrthaṅkara. Then, again, the mother of the Tīrthaṅkara was made to dream the stereotyped number of fourteen dreams before his birth. This dream conception has its parallel too in the Buddhist mythology.

But the most important aspect of the Tīrthaṅkara myth is the attribution of supernatural powers to the Tīrthaṅkara. Though human and mortal, they are not like ordinary men ; they have extraordinary statures and generally have fantastically long life-spans. They have beside them non-human Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs like the Hindu deities and great Buddhist personalities.* Though scrupulously differentiated from the gods of the Hindu pantheon, Jain Tīrthankaras were ultimately given attributes of the Hindu gods and are now worshipped like them.

*[The Jain conception about such attendants is more uniform and regular than in the case of Hindu deities and Buddhist divinities.—Ed]

IV

SOME FESTIVALS AND FASTS OF THE JAINS

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The Jains have been traditionally divided into four groups, viz Sādhu, Sādhvī, Śrāvaka and Śrāvakī. The same *vratas* or religious vows are prescribed for the ascetics and the laity with the only difference that the ascetics have to observe them more scrupulously while the laity is allowed to follow them in a less severe manner. Like other communities of India, the Jains have a number of festivals during the year. The festivals and fasts are observed mainly as religious ceremonies. According to the Jains, the religious ceremonies are to be performed at the proper time and place which are determined with the help of astronomers.¹

Pāryuṣanā Among holy seasons, none is regarded by the Jains as more sacred than the closing days of their religious year, when the ascetics and laity observe the solemn fast of Pajjusanā. Mahāvīra, that great religious teacher, decreed that Pajjusanā should begin when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed, his reason apparently being that the lay people would by that time have prepared their houses to brave the elements, and business, too, being less brisk, they would be at liberty to attend to their religious duties. It is a convenient season also for the ascetics, who during the rains give up for a time their peregrinations, lest they should injure any of the abundant life, animal or vegetable, then springing into being.² The Buddhists call it Vassā-vāsa. During the fast of Pajjusanā, householders are urged to live a monk's life for at least twenty-four hours, and to observe Poṣadha. *Pajjusanā* literally means 'serving with a whole-hearted devotion'.

1 S R. Das, 'The Jain School of Astronomy', *IHQ*, Vol VIII, pp 35-36

2 *SBE*, Vol XXX, 1884, 296 ff

According to the Śvetāmbaras, Pajusanā begins with the twelfth of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa and ends with the fifth of the bright half of Bhādrapada (August-September). It lasts for eight days. On the third day of the Pajusanā, the Śvetāmbaras organise a procession in honour of the *Kalpasūtra*, a religious text which they hold in great reverence. This Sūtra principally deals with three subjects, i.e. lives of Tīrthaṅkaras, list of sages, and rules and regulations to be followed by the Jain monks. According to the Digambaras, Pajusanā lasts every year for ten days from the fifth to the 14th day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada. On these days, early in the morning, all people assemble in the temple and perform worship in a large scale. After the worship, on every day, one chapter out of the ten chapters of the *Tattvārthasūtra* is read and explained to the people.³ During this festival, the annual or great Pratīkarman or confession called Samvatsara-Pratīkarman is performed, in order to remove all ill-feelings against all living beings and to ask pardon from all living beings for any act done knowingly or unknowingly in the course of their mutual exchange during the year. At the close of the meeting everyone present asks the forgiveness of his neighbours for any offence he may even unwittingly have given. This means determination to spend the new year in love and charity with their neighbours.

Siddhacakra-pūjā This is performed only by the Śvetāmbara Jains twice in a year in Caitra and Āśvina, and lasts for eight or nine days, beginning on the 7th and ending on the full-moon day. In every Śvetāmbara temple, there is a saint-wheel, or Siddhacakra, which is a little eight-sided plate made either of brass or silver with five tiny figures representing the Five Great ones (Sādhu, Upādhyāya, Ācārya, Arhat and Siddha). Between the figures are written the names of the three jewels (right knowledge, right faith and right conduct) and also the word *tapa*, austerity, which might almost be called the keyword of the whole Jain system. On the last day 'Navapada'-

pūjā is performed before the Siddhacakra with singing and offerings and the pouring of pots of 'Pakhal' consisting of water, milk, saffron and clarified butter.⁴

Jñāna-pañcamī Once in a year a fast called Jñāna-pañcamī is observed. On this day all Jain sacred books are not only worshipped, but also dusted, freed from insects and rearranged.

Mahāvīra-jayantī. The birthday anniversary of Lord Mahāvīra falls on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Caitra, and this is celebrated with great pomp and enthusiasm throughout India by all Jains.

Vīrasāsana-jayantī This is celebrated mainly by the Digambara Jains every year on the first day of the dark half of Śrāvana. The day is important because on this very day Lord Mahāvīra, after gaining omniscience, delivered his first religious discourse on the Vipula mountain at Rājagṛha.⁵

Days of Abstinence Fasting is considered so important by the Jains that many Śvetāmbara Jains observe twelve days in every month as days of abstinence. The Digambaras, however, observe fast on ten days in every month of the year, on the second, fifth, eighth, eleventh and fourteenth days of both the bright and dark halves of the month.⁶ Less devout Jains among the Śvetāmbaras observe only five days of abstinence. Moreover, four full-moon days during the year are observed as special fast days by the Śvetāmbara Jains. These full-moon days are those of the months of Kārttika, Phālguna, Caitra and Āṣāḍha. The Kārttika and Caitra full-moon days are considered more important and, on these two days, people try to go on pilgrimage to any sacred place, especially to the hills of Śatruñjaya in Kathiawar.⁷

Olī or Āmbela This is the fast of Jain women. It occurs eight days before the Caitra-pūrṇimā, and all women who long

4 Nahar and Ghosh, *An Epitome of Jainism*, pp 249ff.

5 S C Divakar, *Jaina-śāsana*, pp 257-58.

6 *Bombay Gaz*, Vol XXII, p 118

7 Stevenson, in *ERE*, Vol V, p 878

for a happy wedded life abstain specially from nice food for twenty-four hours ⁸

Bathing of Gomateśvara Another rare act of Jain worship is the bathing of colossal figures such as that of Gomateśvara at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, which takes place every twenty-five years. This is the festival of the Dīganībara Jains. The idol of Gomateśvara was made about 983 A D ⁹.

Mauna Ekādaśī The Śyētāmbaras once a year keep solemn fast called Mauna Ekādaśī or Maunagyārāsa on the eleventh day of some month preferably the 11th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa (November-December). This day is generally spent in fasting with a vow of silence for the whole day, and the worshipper meditates on each of the five stages, viz Sādhu, Upādhyāya, Ācārya, Tirthaṅkara and Siddha. ¹⁰

Añjanaśalākā Besides the regularly recurring holy days of the year, there are special occasions of rejoicing such as Añjanaśalākā (the consecration of a new idol) which is celebrated with great pomp ¹¹.

Divālī or Dipāvalī ¹² Apart from the festivals and fasts described above which are observed only by the Jains, there are other festivals which are observed by Jains along with the Hindus. Among such festivals, the Divālī is the most important as well as sacred. It has, however, been given a Jain sanction by calling it the day on which Mahāvīra passed to Nirvāna; the celestial and other beings who were present at that time worshipped him and instituted an illumination saying, "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter" ¹³. From that time, the followers of Mahāvīra celebrate every year the festival of lamps in honour of his achieving liberation. The Jain era known as Vīra-nirvāna Samvat also begins from this date. On this day,

⁸ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 263.

⁹ B. L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 47.

¹⁰ Nahar and Ghosh, *op cit.*, p. 676.

¹¹ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 263.

¹² *Ibid*, pp. 260-61.

¹³ SBE, Vol. XXII, p. 266.

early in the morning, the Jains visit the temple and worship the idol of Mahāvīra known as Nirvāna Lādu. On the first day, the Śvetāmbāra women polish their jewellery and ornaments in honour of Lakṣmī, on the second day they propitiate evil spirits by placing sweetmeats at crossroads, and on the third day (*Amāsa*) all Jains worship their account book (*Śārada-pūjā*).¹⁴

Raksābandhana. This is another great festival which is observed by the Jains, especially by the Digambaras. It teaches the spirit of affection towards co-religionists. The Jains observe it on the full-noon day of Śrāvāna because on this day their ascetic Viṣṇukumāra saved, through his own spiritual powers, the lives of seven hundred Jain monks from death from the human-sacrifice organised by Bali, the king of Hastināpura.¹⁵

Akṣaya-tīyā It is observed in connection with the first Tirthankara Ādinātha.

Besides the above, the Jains follow a number of Hindu festivals such as Daśerā, Makara-sankrāntī and Śītalāsātama (the festival of the goddess of Small Pox). At Daśerā, the Jains eat especially dainty food, and on the Makara-sankrāntī they fulfil the duty of charity by giving food to cows and clothing to the poor.¹⁶

14 *Ibid*, p 267.

15 Sanghve, *Jain Community*, p 252.

16 Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 264, *ERE*, Vol V, p. 878.

A SUMMARY OF JAIN PHILOSOPHY

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Indian Philosophy may primarily be divided into two different sections, i. e., *Āstika* and *Nāstika* (i. e., Theistic and Atheistic), the former having its faith in the existence of God and latter not having it. Some of the commentators on Pāṇini's Grammar explain the term *Āstika* as denoting those who have their faith in *Paraloka* - or the life after death. The Cārvāka philosophy having its faith neither in God nor in the life after death was admitted by all as *Nāstika*. On the other hand, the philosophies of the Buddhists and the Jains having their firm faith in the theory of rebirth (i. e. life after death) have been denounced by many of the Indian thinkers as *Nāstika* simply for their disbelief in the existence of God, and apparently also for their non-belief in the fruitfulness of the Vedic rituals. As the philosophy of the Buddhists and the Jains believe in rebirth and the fruitfulness of one's action, which fall in line with the thought of the Hindu philosophers, and are contrary to the ideas of the Cārvākas, a new name *Pākhanda* or *Pāṣanda* was given to them for distinguishing them from Cārvāka philosophy. Virchand R. Gandhi, who represented Jainism in the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1893 and also preached the philosophy of the Jains throughout the world, discussed the essence of Jain philosophy in his celebrated lectures published by the Agamodaya Samiti of Bombay ¹

The term *Jaina* means 'a follower of the Jina' who 'conquered the lower nature, i. e. passion, hatred and the like, and brought into prominence the highest' ². The Jains look into the things in two different ways, of which one is called *Dravy-*

¹ V. R. Gandhi, *The Jain Philosophy*, edited and published by Sri Agamodaya Samiti, Bombay (2nd ed., 1924)

² *Ibid*, p. 15

ārthikanaya and the other *Paryāyārthikanaya*. According to the former the universe is without beginning and end, whereas the latter holds creation and destruction to take place at every moment.³ The canons of the Jains also may be divided into two parts, viz *Śrutadharma* (philosophy) and *Caritadharma* (ethics).⁴ *Śrutadharma* deals with the nature of nine principles consisting of six kinds of living beings and four states of existence. The first of the nine principles is soul, the second non-soul, and so on. Jain philosophers divide the substance into six kinds, namely, (i) sentiment or consciousness, (ii) matter, (iii) *dharmāstikāya* (fulcrum of motion), (iv) *adharmaśtikāya* (fulcrum of stability or rest), (v) space, and (vi) time. The living beings are generally divided into six classes, viz earthbody beings, waterbody beings, firebody beings, windbody beings, vegetables, and animals. Amongst these six classes, one to five are said to have only a single organ of sense (that of touch). The animals are again divided into four classes, viz. (i) those having no organs of sense (touch and taste), such as tapeworms leeches, etc., (ii) those having three organs of sense (touch, taste and smell), such as ants, lice, etc., (iii) those having four organs of sense (the aforesaid three, and sight), such as bees, scorpions, etc., and (iv) those having five organs of sense (the above four and hearing).⁵

Jain philosophy divides *karman* or action into eight different kinds, viz. (i) that which is an impediment to the knowledge of truth, (ii) that which is an impediment to the right insight of various sorts, (iii) that which brings in pleasure and pain, (iv) that which produces bewilderment, and the like. The remaining four classes are so minutely divided and subdivided that 'a student of Jain Karma philosophy can trace any effect to a particular *karman*'.⁶ According to the Jain faith, the highest happiness is to be obtained through knowledge and religious observances. Jain philosophy never permits

3 *Ibid*, p 1

4 *Loc cit*

5 *Ibid*, p 3

6 *Ibid*, p 7

to kill or hurt any living being. It instructs the ascetics to observe 'the five *Mahāvratas* or great commandments', viz (i) to protect all lives, (ii) not to lie, (iii) not to take anything which is not offered, (iv) to abstain from sexual intercourse, and (v) to renounce all interest in worldly things, especially to call nothing as one's own.⁷

Jain philosophy teaches that the universe, when considered as 'the totality of realities', is infinite in space and eternal in time, and that when 'considered from the standpoint of the manifestations of the different realities', it is finite in space and non-eternal in time.⁸ According to it, there are five gateways of knowledge, each of which is subject to the laws of evolution and *karman*. These were described by Virchand R. Gandhi in the Parliament of Religions in the following way: In the lowest form of life, there is only one sense, that of touch. In the higher forms of life, there are two, three, four and (as in animals, birds, fish and men) five senses. These, according to the Jains, can unfold only a limited form of knowledge. The second source is study and reading. The third is *Avadhi* or the psychic faculty through which finer and more subtle things are known. The fourth is mind-knowing, through which one knows the mental activities of others. The fifth is the absolute knowledge which only can remove all the limitations of body and brain.⁹

The Jains admit that the soul is eternal having neither birth nor death, and that, when this takes its abode in a new body, the process is called rebirth. They also admit the existence of both the spirit and the matter, and as such, do not hesitate to call themselves dualists. In this connection, V. R. Gandhi announced before the Parliament of Religions: "We are dualists. We say, there is spirit and matter, while the positivists and monists in this country say, there is but

7 *Ibid*, pp 7-8

8 *Ibid*, p 20

9 *Ibid*, pp 21-22

one substance We say, "No ; spirit can never be matter. Matter is known by the senses, spirit only by spirit. . . Spirit is that whose attribute or differentia is consciousness"⁹

The difference between the soul and the non-soul, according to the Jains, is that the soul is endowed with the power to know, and the non-soul is the reverse of it. The dualism of the Jains was explained before the Religious Parliament in the following words "The totality of the universe taken as a whole is eternal, but there are so many parts of that collection and so many entities in it, all of which have their different states which occur at different times and each part does not retain the same state at all times There is change, there is destruction of any particular form and a new form comes into existence; and therefore, if we look upon the universe from this standpoint, it is non-eternal"¹⁰ The idea that the universe originated from nothing, which the Buddhists held so strongly, has no place in Jain philosophy.¹¹ The Jains do not admit the existence of God, but their views are almost similar to the Sāṅkhya and Vedānta systems of Hindu philosophy, they admit that there exists a Supreme Power or Energy to which they pray for being one or equal with Him. A Jain verse says: "I bow down to that spiritual power or energy which is the cause of leading us to the path of salvation, which is supreme and omniscient. I bow down to that power, because I wish to be one with him"¹²

Jain philosophy classifies the whole cosmos under two heads, viz Jīva and Ajīva, of which the former stands for the sentient or conscious, and the latter for insentient or unconscious. The Jīva travels from body to body, which themselves are Ajīva. When this unnecessary contact of Jīva with Ajīva is

9 *Ibid*, p 25

10 *Ibid*, p 43

11 *Ibid*, p 47

12 *Ibid*, p 55

removed, the former shines forth in its bliss, assuming its real state of final emancipation ¹³ In the Jain view, the inanimate world consists of matter, space, and two kinds of ether known as *Dharmāstikāya* and *Adharmāstikāya*. The animate world consists of innumerable kinds of living beings, each being a centre of complex forces. Time may be figuratively called a substance, though really meaning a generalised mode of thought in respect of the activities of beings and things ¹⁴ Unlike the Hindus, the Jains hold that the highest thing is a person, and not any characterless, qualityless being like the Brahman of the Vedānta or the like

As regards the process of acquiring knowledge, Jain philosophy describes it in the following way “First, there is the indefinite cognition as an isolated object or idea. It is the state of the mind prior to analysis. It is that condition of things to which analysis is to be applied. This is what is really meant by unity or identity of the universe with the real which many philosophers proclaim. It makes no difference whether this unity or identity finds its home in a sensuous object or a subjective idea, the process being the same. Next comes analysis—the dissolving, separating, or differentiating of the parts, elements, properties, or aspects. Last comes the synthesis, which is putting together the primitive indefinite cognition-synthesis—with the subsequent analysis, so that the primitive cognition shall not be a complete annihilation, or disappearance by the condensation of all difference, and so that, on the other hand, the analysis shall not be an absolute diffusiveness, isolation or abstraction and destruction of all unity, which is not the primitive unity, but the relational unity of a variety of aspects. The analytical method is known in the Jain literature as *Nayavāda* (consideration of aspects). The synthetical method is called *Syādvāda* (doctrine of the inexpugnability of the inextricably combined properties and relations) or *Anekāntavāda* (doctrine of non-isolation)” ¹⁵

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 146

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 184

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 237-38

The Jains hold that water itself is an assemblage of minute animate creatures, and that air, fire, and even lightning have life in them. They admit that the physical substance of clay, water, stone, etc., is a multitude of bodies of living beings, but that, when dried up, they become pure matter, having no life in them. Similarly, according to the Jains, vegetables, trees, fruits, etc., have life in them but when dried or cooked, this life does not exist any longer.¹⁶

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p 241.

VI

JAINISM IN EARLY INSCRIPTIONS OF MATHURĀ

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In Mathurā, we come across a large number of small dedicatory inscriptions incised on the images of Jinas as well as on votive tablets, arches, etc. Some of the epigraphs are dated. Most of these come from the Kankālī Tīlā (mound) and show that, in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, Jainism was in a flourishing condition in that region. However, the earliest Jain inscription¹ recording the erection of an ornamental arch of the temple by a layman named Uttaradāsaka, the disciple of the ascetic Māgharaksita, has been assigned to 150 B C.² Another inscription³ of the Kuṣāna period dated in the year 49 of the Kanīṣka (Śaka) era records the establishment of an image of the *Arhat* Nandyāvarta⁴ at the *Vodva stūpa*, built by the gods (*Vodve thupe deva-nirmite*). The *stūpa* seems to have been so old that it was believed by the people to have been built by the gods. The *Tīrthakalpa* or *Rājaprasāda* of Jinaprabha, a fourteenth-century work based on ancient materials, narrates the construction and repair of the 'stūpa, built by the gods'. According to this work,⁵ the *stūpa*, originally made of gold and embellished with precious

1 Lūders' List, No 93.

2 Bühler in *Academy*, Vol XXXIX, p 378

3 Lūders' List, No 47

4 *Arhat* Nandyāvarta is, as translated by Führer (*Progress Report of the Lucknow Museum*, 1891, p 16), 'the *Arhat* whose mark is the Nandyāvarta symbol', that is to say, Aranātha, the 18th Tīrthaṅkara who had the said symbol of cognisance. The reading *Nandyāvarta* is accepted by scholars like Bühler (*Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 204), Smith (*The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, 1969, p 12) and Lūders (List, No. 47). K. D. Bajpai (*JUPHS* Vols XXIV-XXV, p 220), reads the word as *Manisurvartra* referring to the 20th Jina [*Deva-nirmita*=built by the king? —Ed.]

5 Smith, *op cit*, p 15

stones, was erected by the goddess Kuberā in honour of Supārśvanātha, the 7th Jina⁶ Later on, at the time of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Jina, the golden *stūpa* was surrounded by enclosure made of bricks, and a stone temple was built outside Smith⁷ holds that the *stūpa* is probably 'the oldest known building in India' In this connection, mention may be made of the *Vyavahāra-bhāṣya*⁸ referring to a jewelled *stūpa* at Mathurā

The inscriptions of Mathurā indicate the cult of the Jain *Tīrthankaras* Images of Rṣabha, the first of the *Tīrthankaras*, are mentioned in Kuṣāṇa and Gupta records⁹ and testifies to the popularity of his worship in the age in question Besides, four other Kuṣāṇa inscriptions¹⁰ speak of the installation of the statues of the four *Tīrthankaras*, viz Sambhavanātha (3rd), Śāntinātha (16th), Ariṣṭanemi (22nd) and Pārśvanātha (23rd) Of course Mahāvira, the last Jina, was much more popular, and inscriptions referring to the dedication of his image are numerous not only in the Kuṣāṇa period¹¹ when Jainism was in a prosperous condition at Mathurā, but in the preceding age also¹² Mahāvira, more popularly called Vardhamāna, was the name given to him at birth

The first twenty-two *Tīrthankaras* are considered to be mythical figures, and only the last two, viz, Pārśvanātha and

6 U P Shah (*Studies in Jain Art*, 1969, p 12 and note) is of the opinion that, since from the beginning of excavations at the Kaṅkālī Tīlā, not a single specimen exposed the name of Supārśvanātha as a popular Jina there, and there is reference to Pārśvanātha in an inscription (Luders' List, No 110) at Mathurā, the *stūpa* was originally dedicated not to Supārśvanātha, but probably to Pārśvanātha.

7 Smith, *loc cit*

8 V 27ff

9 Lüdgers' List, Nos 56, 69a, 117, 121, Lüdgers, *Math Ins*, ed K L Janert, 1961, p 35 In a Kuṣāṇa record (*ibid*, p 52), Lüdgers reads the name *Maha[śa]bha* which he takes to be a mistake for *Maharṣabha*, i e Rṣabha (*loc cit*)

10 Lüdgers, *Math Ins*, p 45, List, Nos 26-27, 110

11 Lüdgers, List, Nos 18, 28, 31, 34, 39, 50, 74, 76, 102, 112, 115, 118-19, *Math Ins*, p 53, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 67

12 D R Bhandarkar Volume, ed, B C Law, 1940, p 282, Lüdgers' List, Nos 59, 94, 103

Mahāvīra, are regarded as historical personages. Mahāvīra is supposed to be the prophet and reformer, but not the originator of the creed. It is believed that Pārśvanātha preached the four vows, viz *ahimsā* (non-injury), *satya* (truth), *asteya* (abstinence from stealing) and *aparigraha* (non-attachment to worldly things). To the four, Mahāvīra added a fifth, i.e. *brahmacarya* (chastity) * Further, while Pārśvanātha's followers used to wear white garment, Mahāvīra prescribed nudity for his disciples. The adherents of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra are known as Śvetāmbara and Digambara respectively.** The difference between the two sects was more in the matter of conduct rather than in doctrine.

In several Mathurā records, the Jain prophets are addressed as *Arhat*, *Jina*, *Siddha*, *Bhāgavata*,*** all of which tend to show that they conquered their passions and became omniscient. To the Jains, the 24 *Tīrthankaras*, freed from the circles of births and deaths, are superior to all gods and are the highest objects of veneration ¹³ "When the Venerable one had become an *Arhat* and *Jina*, he was a *Kevalin*, Omniscient and Comprehending all objects; he knew all conditions of the world, of gods, men and demons."¹⁴ It is interesting that the Jains worshipped their prophets neither for the acquisition of some earthly possessions, nor for the spiritual bliss to be conferred by the saints, but only followed them to be purified and sanctified ¹⁵ In this connection, mention may be made of some phrases occurring in the inscriptions, which express the devotion of the Jains to their prophets,

*[Essentially *aparigraha* is 'non-acceptance of anything' and *brahmacarya*, 'celebacy' The words are used in expanded senses —Ed]

**[The development of the two communities appears to be later Nudity was meant for ascetics —Ed]

***[*Bhagavat* seems to be intended —Ed.]

13 B C Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, 1939, pp. 37-38

14 SBE, Vol XXII, pp. 201-02.

15 *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol II, p. 187, B C Bhattacharya, *op cit*, pp 19-20.

e.g., 'adoration to the *Arhats*'¹⁶ 'adoration to the *Arhats*, the highest ones in the whole world,'¹⁷ 'adoration to all the *Siddhas*, to the *Arhats*,'¹⁸ 'adoration to the *Arhat Vardhamāna*,'¹⁹ 'adoration to the *Arhat Mahāvīra*,'²⁰ etc

In the period under review, image-worship was very popular among the Jains although worship of the Jina image was in vogue as early as the fourth century B. C. According to the Hathigumpha inscription,²¹ a Jina statue, which had been carried away from Kalinga to Magadha by some Nanda king, was taken back to Kalinga by king Khāravela of the Cedi clan. Besides, a nude torso,²² supposed to be a Jina figure, found at Lohanipur in Patna, has been assigned to the Maurya period. It has been suggested²³ that the worship of images was borrowed from the Brāhmaṇical Hindus first by the Jains and later on by the Buddhists. However, in addition to a number of Mathurā images of the *Tīrthankaras* mentioned above, a few more images, on which the names of the Jinas are not mentioned, were also discovered. The said records,²⁴ except the one²⁵ dated in the year 113 of the Gupta era, belong to the Kuṣāṇa period. Besides, some epigraphs²⁶ of the Kuṣāṇa age record the dedication of fourfold images (*sarvatobhadrikā pratimā*) of the Jinas.

The practice of setting up *āyāgapaṭas* for the worship of *Arhats* is mentioned in the inscriptions.²⁷ The word *āyāga* is

16 *Ep Ind*, Vol I, pp 390, 395, 397, Vol II, pp 199-200, 207

17 *Ibid*, Vol I, p. 383

18 *D R Bhandarkar Volume*, pp 282-83, cf *VOJ*, Vol I, pp 172-73

19 *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 396, Vol II, p 199; *Ind Ant*, Vol XXXIII, p 152

20 *Ep Ind*, Vol II pp 200, 205, *Ind Ant*, Vol XXXIII, p 108

21 Sircar, *Sel Ins*, Vol I, 1965, p 217

22 *JBORS*, Vol XXIII, pp. 130-32

23 U. P. Shah, *op cit*, pp 39-40.

24 *Ibid*, Nos 22, 57, 75-96, *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 204, *JUPHS*, Vol XXIII, p 49

25 Bhandarkar's List, No 1268

26 Lüders' List, Nos 24-25, 37, 112, *Math Ins*, pp 38-39

27 Lüders' List, Nos 94, 100, 103, 105-06

supposed to be derived from the Sanskrit word *āryaka* meaning 'honourable' or 'worthy of reverence'²⁸ The word has been translated as a 'tablet of homage or worship'.²⁹ It is an ornamental slab with the statue of a Jina or some other venerable object at the centre. The slabs are usually of considerable artistic merit. Besides, the erection of *śilāpaṭas*, *āyagasabhā*, *torana*, etc., in honour of the *Arhats*, is mentioned in inscriptions³⁰

The words *bhagavā Nemeso bhaga* .. (the divine Naigamesa, the divine.)³¹ in archaic characters are engraved on a sculptural panel representing a seated male figure with goat's head, and a male and some female figures standing, one of the latter with a child in her lap. As suggested by Bühler,³² Nemesa is mentioned as Harinegamesī in the *Kalpasūtra*, as Naigamesin in the *Nemināthacarita* and as Nejaṃeṣa or Naigameya in other works. Sometimes he is figured with the head of a ram or goat or antelope. He is connected with the procreation of children, and his representation in the inscribed panel, according to Bühler, illustrates a legend in the *Kalpasūtra*.³³ The story is that Harinegamesī at the command of Indra, king of the gods, transferred the embryo of Mahāvīra from the womb of Devanandā, a Brāhmaṇa woman, to that of Triśalā, a Ksatriya lady.

An inscription³⁴ of the time of *Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa* dated in the year 72 (16 A D) records that Āmohinī, a female lay-disciple of the Kautsa race, established a statue of an Āryavati for the worship of the *Arhats* Āryavati, according to Bühler,³⁵ was a royal lady who had some importance in Jain legends

28 See V. S. Agrawala, in *JUPHS*, Vol XVI, Pt I, p. 59.

29 See Bühler, in *Ep. Ind*, Vol. II, p. 314

30 Lüders' List, Nos 93, 102, 108

31 *Ep. Ind*, Vol II, p. 200.

32 *Ibid*, pp 314-18

33 *SBE*, Vol XXII, pp. 218-19.

34 Lüders' List, No 59

35 *Academy*, Vol XXXIX, p. 374

U. P. Shah³⁶ suggests that the lady can be identified with the mother of a Jina, probably Mahāvīra.

Another inscription³⁷ incised on a large statue of an elephant surmounting the bell capital of a pillar records the erection of the image of Nandiviśāla by Rudradāsa, the son of Śivadāsa, for the worship of the *Arhats*. Scholars differ regarding the interpretation of the word *Nandiviśāla*. According to Cunningham,³⁸ it refers to the elephant as the great Nandin. Bloch³⁹ is of the opinion that the word is either a technical term of uncertain meaning or indicates the pillar which was 'as big as Nandin'. Further, he says that the appellation Nandiviśāla and the donor's and his father's names in the record allude to the fact that 'Jainism apparently already in those early times was as much mixed up with Śaivism as its great rival Buddhism'. Luders⁴⁰ thinks that the word Nandiviśāla 'is the proper name of the elephant represented in the sculpture' and does not accept Bloch's theory about the mixing up of Buddhism and Jainism with Śaivism. In his opinion, Rudradāsa was probably a convert from Śaivism to Jainism.

The Jains pay homage to a class of divinities called Vidyādevī. According to their tradition, these goddesses, headed by Sarasvatī, are sixteen in number. An epigraphic record⁴¹ dated in the year 54 of the Kanīṣka or Śaka era records the dedication of a statue of Sarasvatī by a Jain lay disciple. This is supposed to be the earliest image of Sarasvatī discovered so far.⁴²

Jainism, like Buddhism, is a monastic religion and its adherents are divided into ascetics and lay disciples. The

36 *Op cit*, p 11

37 Lūders' List, No 41

38 *ASIR*, Vol III, pp 32-33

39 *JASB*, Vol LXVII (1898), Pt I, p 276 and note 2

40 *Ind Ant*, Vol XXXIII, p 41, also note 30

41 Lūders' List, No 54

42 *B Pathak Commemoration Volume*, 1934, p 41, U P Shah, *op cit*, p 11

Jains have no specific regulations restricting women from becoming followers of this faith. A good number of names of female ascetics and lay disciples are mentioned in inscriptions. In this connection, mention may be made of the *Caturvarna-sangha* (community of the four classes, viz ascetics and lay followers of both sexes) referred to in an inscription⁴³ of the Kuṣāna period dated in the year 62 of the Kaniska or Śaka era.

The Jain *Kalpasūtra*⁴⁴ states that the monastic order was divided and subdivided into several *ganas*, *kulas* and *śākhās*. This is supported by the early inscriptions of Mathurā, which mention certain *ganas*, *kulas* and *śākhās* and also *sambhogas*. The *ganas* called *Koṭṭiya*, *Vārana* and *Āry Odehukiya* are mentioned in several records. Inscriptions of the Kuṣāna age not only contain the earliest reference to the *Koṭṭiyagana*,⁴⁵ but also mention it in a large number of cases⁴⁶. The *kulas* mentioned as belonging to this group include *Brahmadāsika*,⁴⁷ *Sthānikīya*,⁴⁸ *Vaccaliya*⁴⁹ and *P[r]a[sna]v[ā]ha[na]ka*⁵⁰ and its different *śākhās* likewise include *Uccenāgarī*,⁵¹ *Āryaverī*,⁵² *Vairī*,⁵³ *Majhamā*⁵⁴ and *Vidyādhari*⁵⁵. The *sambhogas* of

43 Lūders' List, No 57

44 *SBE*, Vol XXII, pp 286-94. There are altogether nine *ganas* with there various *kulas* and *śākhās*

45 Lūders' List, Nos 18-19

46 See Lūders' List, Nos 17-20, 22, 23a, 25, 27-29, 32, 36, 39, 45a, 47, 53-54, 56, 73, 75, 77, 84, 89c, 107f, 121-22, 124. Bhandarkar's List, No 1268 mentioning this *gana* belongs to the Gupta period

47 Lūders' List, Nos 18-20, 23a, 29, 32, 45a, 46, 121-22

48 *Ibid*, Nos 22, 27-28, 36, 39, 53-54, 56, 75, 110, 115, *Ep Ind*, Vol X, p 110, *JUPHS*, Vol XII (1939), p 26

49 Lūders' List, Nos 25, 107f.

50 *Ibid*, No 73

51 *Ibid*, Nos 18-20, 23a, 29, 32, 45a, 46, 71, 77, 119, 121-22

52 *Ibid*, Nos 27, 36

53 *Ibid*, Nos 22, 28, 39, 47, 53-54, 56, 75, 89c; *Ep. Ind*, Vol X, p. 110; *JUPHS*, Vols XXIV-XXV, p 219. *Āryaverī* and *Vairī* are the appellations of Vajrin in the *Kalpasūtra*

54 Lūders' List, No 73

55 Bhandarkar's List, No. 1268

Koṭṭiyagana, as mentioned in the epigraphs, are Śrīgṛha⁵⁶ and Śrīka⁵⁷

The *Koṭṭiyagana* is found in the *Kalpasūtra* as *Kauṭikagana*,⁵⁸ the founders of which were Susthita and Supratibuddha. In the Mathurā inscriptions of different dates, the following heads of the *gana*, styled *Ganin*, are mentioned: Ārya Puśīla, Ārya Pāla, Ja-mitra (?), Ārya Māghahastin and Ārya Kharnṇa⁵⁹

Another *gana*, called *Cārana* in the *Kalpasūtra*⁶⁰ and stated to have been founded by Śrīgupta, is mentioned as *Vārana* in the inscriptions.⁶¹ Its *kulas*, mentioned in inscriptions, are Ārya Hāṭṭakakiya,⁶² Nādika,⁶³ Petivamika,⁶⁴ Puśyamitriya,⁶⁵ Ārya Kanīyasika,⁶⁶ Ārya Ceṭiya⁶⁷ and Ārya Bhyista,⁶⁸ while its *śākhās* are *Vajanagarī*,⁶⁹ *Haritamālakadhī*,⁷⁰ *Samkasiyā*⁷¹ and *sambhogas* *Āryaśrīkīya*,⁷² *Śrīya*⁷³ and *Śrīgṛha*⁷⁴. According

56 Lüders' List, No 1268

57 *Ibid*, Nos 28, 39, 121. The *Kalpasūtra* does not mention the *sambhogas*

58 SBE, Vol XXII, p 292. According to the *Kalpasūtra*, this *gana* was divided into four *kulas*, viz *Brahmaliptaka*, *Vātsaliya*, *Vānīya*, *Praśnavāhanaka*, and four *śākhās*, viz, *Uccanāgarī*, *vidyādhari*, *Vajrin* and *Mādhyamikā* all of which are referred to in the inscriptions of Mathurā

59 Lüders' List, Nos 23a, 29, 53-54, 56

60 SBE, Vol XXII, pp 291-92

61 Lüders' List, Nos 16, 31, 34, 37, 42, 45, 48, 50, 58, 59a, 113, 116-17. Reference to the *Vārana-gana* is found only in the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, the earliest of which (*ibid*, No 16) is dated in the Kapiśka or Śaka year 4

62 Lüders' List, Nos 16, 48, 116

63 *Ibid*, No 117

64 *Ibid*, Nos 31, 45, 107d

65 *Ibid*, No 34

66 *Ibid*, No 113

67 *Ibid*, No 42

68 *Ibid*, No 50. Lüders thinks it to be a mistake for *Ārya-Kanīyasika*

69 *Ibid*, Nos 16, 48, 59a, 107d, 116

70 *Ibid*, No 42

71 *Ibid*, No 50

72 *Ibid*, No 116

73 *Ibid*, Nos 48, 59a.

74 *Ibid* No 50

to the *Kalpasūtra*, the said *gana* consisted of seven *kulas* and four *śākhās*. Amongst the *kulas* known from inscriptions, *Ārya Hāttakiya*, *Petivamika*, *Puṣyamitriya*, *Ārya Kassiyasika* and *Ārya Ceṭiya* correspond respectively to *Hārīdraka*, *Prītidharmika*, *Puṣyamitrika*, *Kṛṣṇasakha* and *Ārya Cedaya* of the *Kalpasūtra* ⁷⁵ Amongst the *śākhās* mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra*, except *Gavedhukā* three others are known from the Mathurā inscriptions. *Ārya Data*, *Ārya Nandika* and *Dinara* were heads of the *Vārana-gana* at different dates during the Kusāna age ⁷⁶

The *gana* called *Ārya Odehikiya*, which is the same as *Uddeha* of the *Kalpasūtra*,⁷⁷ is mentioned with its divisions and subdivisions in two Kusāna records,⁷⁸ dated in the Kaniska-Śaka years 7 and 98 respectively. The *kulas* of this *gana* are *Ārya Nāgabhutikiya* and *Parīdhāsika* while its *śākhā* is *Petaputrika*. According to the *Kalpasūtra*, the *gana* founded by *Ajja Ronana* is divided into six *kulas* and four *śākhās*.

Besides, two other Kusāna inscriptions refer to one *kula* entitled *Mehika* which, according to the *Kalpasūtra*, belongs to the *Vesavādiya gana* ⁸⁰ Thus the reference to the *Mehikakula* in the inscriptions points to the existence of the *Vesavādiya-gana* at Mathurā. This *gana* was divided into four *kulas* and subdivided into four *śākhās*, its pioneer being *Kāmarddhi*.

The division of the church into several *ganas*, *kulas* and *śākhās* and also into *sambhogas* was a peculiarity of the Jains and was not found among other Indian religious sects. *Gana* means 'school', *kula* 'family' and *śākhā* 'branch',⁸¹ but the actual meanings of the terms are doubtful ⁸² Jacobi suggests that *gana* meaning 'school' is derived 'from one teacher', while

75 *Ep Ind.*, Vol I, p 378; B. N Puri, *India under the Kuṣāṇas*, 1965, pp 150-51.

76 Lüders' List, Nos 34, 37, 50,

77 *SBE*, Vol XXII, p. 290.

78 Lüders' List, Nos 21, 76

79 *Ibid*, Nos Nos 24, 70

80 *SBE*, Vol XXII, p 291.

81 See Bühler, *Indian Sects of the Jains*, 1963, p 33.

82 See Jacobi, *SBE*, Vol XXII, p. 288, note 2

kula indicates 'succession of teachers in one line', and *śākhā* 'the lines which branch off from each teacher'. He further holds that the modern *gaccha* is the same as the ancient *gana*.

In addition to the *Ganins*, the inscriptions⁸³ record the names of several *Vācakas* (preachers) of the Jain community. That there was perhaps no restriction for a single person to hold the two positions simultaneously, is suggested by two Kuṣāṇa records mentioning one person as both *Gaṇin* and *Vācaka*⁸⁴. Thus the Jain church was a well organised community in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Inscriptions show that the followers of the Jain creed belonged mostly to the trading class. That the foreigners were sometimes converted to Jainism is evident from two inscriptions,⁸⁵ the first of which records the dedication of an image of Mahāvīra by Okhārikā, Ujhatikā, Okhā, Śirika and Śivadina in the year 292 of the Parthian era, while the second mentions the setting up of an image of Vardhamāna by Okhārikā, the daughter of Dīmītra. Lüders⁸⁶ has pointed out that the said names are of foreign origin.

83 Lüders' List, Nos 22, 27-30, 42, 45, 47, 50, 53-54, 56-58, 110, 112, JUPHS, Vols XXIV-XXV, p 219, Lüders, *Math Ins*, p 39

84 Lüders' List, No 50, states that Dīnara was a great preacher as well as the head of the *Īraṇagana*, while in another record (*ibid*, No 29) Ja-mitra (?) was at the same time the preacher and the head of the *Koṭṭiyagana*.

85 D R Bhandarkar Volume, ed B. C Law, 1940, p. 282, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 67

86 D R Bhandarkar Volume, pp 283-84

VII

AN UNNOTICED JAIN CAVERN NEAR MADURANTAKAM

Sm R. Champakalakshmi, Madras University

About 22 kms south-east of Madurantakam in the Chingleput District, on the Cheyur Road, lies a range of low hills, locally called Pañcapāṇḍavamalai, near the village of Onambakkam. Two of them called Karuppankunṟu and Ūśimalai (or Dēvanūrmalai) were once occupied by the Jains. They contain natural caverns (Figs 1-2) with chiselled rock beds used by Jain ascetics for several centuries in the first millennium A D. On the Karuppankunṟu, which is about 217 feet high, are also found sculptures representing three Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, viz. Ādinātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. Of the three, the bas-reliefs of Ādinātha (Fig. 3) and Mahāvīra are carved on the face of the rock near the path leading to the cavern on the top. The sculpture of Pārśvanātha (Fig 4) is, however, remarkable, for it is carved inside a shrine-like niche on a separate boulder resembling the bas-reliefs of Māmallapuram. To the right of this niche, on the same rock, is an inscription in early Grantha and Tamil characters assignable to the 8th century A D. (Fig 5), giving the name of the Jain teacher, Vasudeva Siddānta-bhatāra, who caused the shrine to be made. The Jain teacher is also called the founder of The Twenty-four *Caturvimśati-sthāpaka*).

The 'Twenty-four' may refer to the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of the Jains. It may also indicate that the number twenty-four, being sacred to the Jains, was often used by them to form committees of twenty-four for religious and social purposes. Such a committee is mentioned in a Coḷa inscription of 945 A D dated in the 38th regnal year of Parāntaka I, for Viḷāppākkam in the North Arcot-District. The inscription records the sinking of a well by Paṭṭinikkuratti-

adigaḷ, a female disciple of Ariṣṭanēmi-pidārar of Tīruppāṇ-malai.¹ The well and a house were constituted into a nunnery under the supervision of 'the Twenty-four' of the place. The twenty-four possibly formed a local Jain committee, which managed the affairs of the *pen-palli* or nunnery. The Tīruppāṇ-malai or Pañcapāṇḍavamalai is a hillock near Viḷāppākkam and contains Jain sculptures and inscriptions of the Pallava and Coḷa periods, i.e. belonging to dates from the 8th to the 11th century A.D.²

Near the cavern on the top of the Karuppankunru, brick bats and traces of a brick structure can be seen even now. They indicate that a structural chamber or *mandapa* was once attached to the cavern. The cavern with beds on the Karuppankunru is the first of its kind so far known in the Chingleput District. Similar Jain caverns with beds have been found in considerable numbers in other parts of Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam (North and South Arcot Districts), where Jain sculptures and inscriptions of the 8th and 9th centuries have been recorded. Brāhmī inscriptions, which invariably accompany such caverns with beds in the southern Districts of Tamiḷnadu, are conspicuous by their absence in this region, the only exception being Māmaṇḍūr in the North Arcot District, where, however, no Jain sculptures have been found along with the cavern with beds.

The Brāhmī inscriptions of the southern Districts of Madurai and Tirunelveli and also the Districts of Tiruchirappalli and Coimbatore belong to the period from the 2nd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. Māmaṇḍūr contains a Brāhmī inscription of about 2nd or 3rd century A.D.³ The earliest Jain inscriptions of the Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam region belong to the 5th century A.D. as evidenced by the palaeography of the Tīrūnātharkunru inscriptions in the South Arcot District.³ The majority of the Jain inscriptions on hills with natural

1 53 of *An Rep Ep*, 1900, *S Ind Ins*, Vol VII, No 56

2 *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, pp 136ff

3 I Mahadevan, *Corpus of the Tamil Brāhmī Inscriptions*, App. 1, *Seminar on Inscriptions*, 1966, ed. R. Nagaswamy, p. 69

caverns or rock-cut caves in this region belong to a period from about the 7th or 8th to the 10th or 11th century A D. They point to the later period as the most flourishing one for the Jain religion in this region. Literary evidences from the *Tēvāram* hymns of about the 7th to the 9th century A D. and the *Periya Purānam* of the 12th century A D, however, would show that the Jains were very numerous all over Tamilnadu before the period of the *Nāyanmārs* (the exponents of *bhakti*) and the crusade waged against the Jains by them brought about the downfall of the Jains in many important centres including Kāñcīpuram and Madurai, the Pallava and Pāndya capitals respectively.

Illustrations

Fig 3 Ādinātha — This figure represents a Jain Tirthaṅkara, probably, the first Tirthaṅkara Ādinātha, seated with legs crossed and the open palms of the hand placed one over the other in the *dhyāna* (meditation) posture. There is a triple umbrella (*mukkudai*) above the figure, which is a characteristic feature of all Tirthankara icons. Two attendants holding flywhisks are represented on either side. The style of carving is typical of the Pallava period and hence the sculpture may roughly be assigned to the 7th or 8th century A D.

Fig 4 Pārśvanātha — Carved within a fairly deep niche is the figure of the 23rd Tirthaṅkara Pārśvanātha standing in what is known as the *kāyōtsarga* posture under a five-hooded snake canopy. The serpent's hood is a special iconographic feature of this Tirthaṅkara as also of another called Supārśva.

The niche in which the image is carved is surmounted by a *śikhara* resembling the four-sided *śikharas* on niches in many reliefs of Māmallapuram, which are styled by K. R. Srinivasan as *sama-caturasra-kūṭas* with *nāgara-śikharas* representing *ekalavimānas*⁴. The carving of this image is also similar

⁴ 'Pallava Architecture of South India', *Ancient India*, No. 14, . 129, Pl XVII A-B

PLATE I

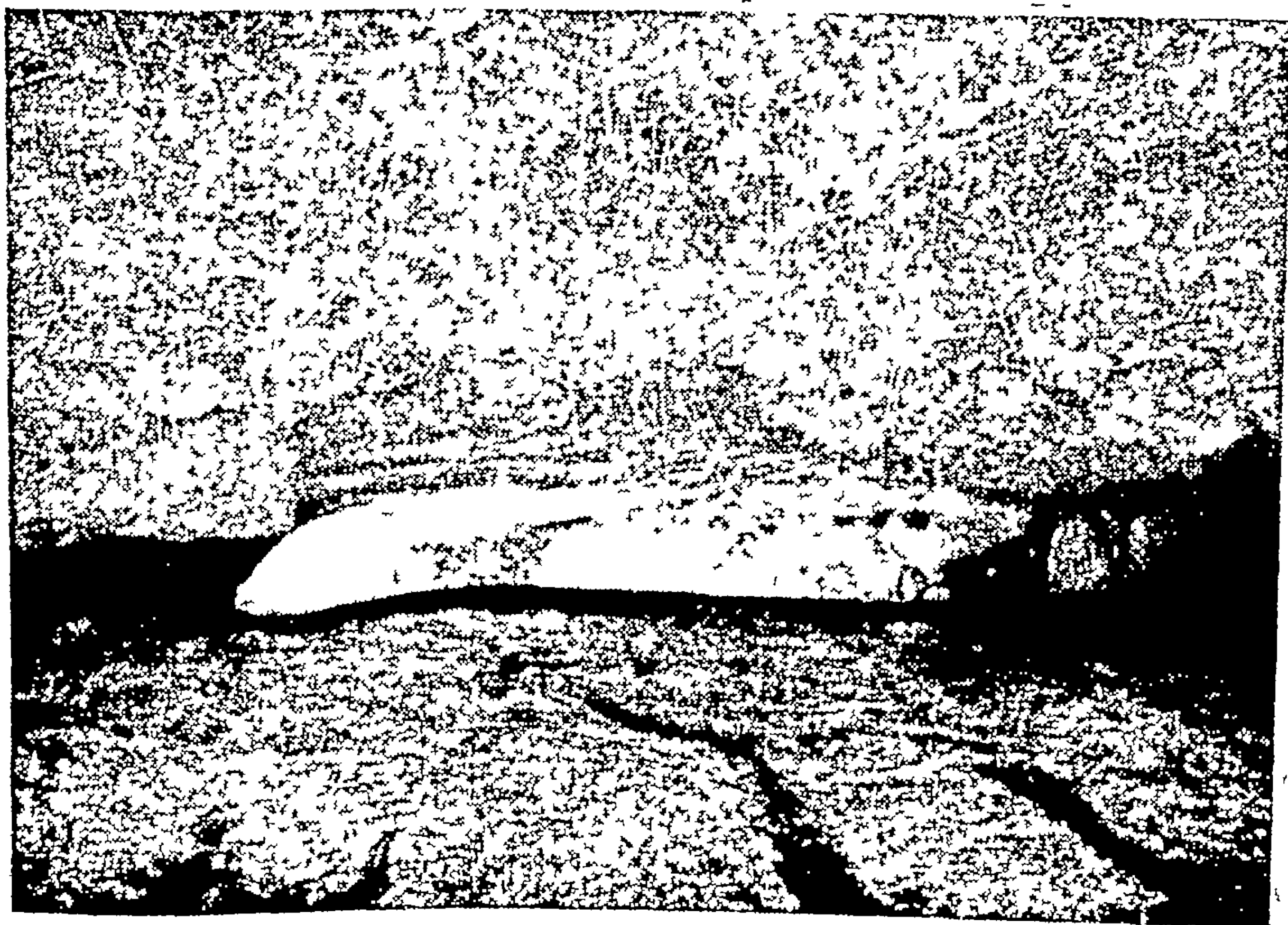


Fig 1 Rock-beds—Ūsimala

PLATE II



Fig. 2. Rock-cut Bed—Karuppankunru

PLATE III



Fig 3. Ādinātha—Karuppankunru

PLATE IV

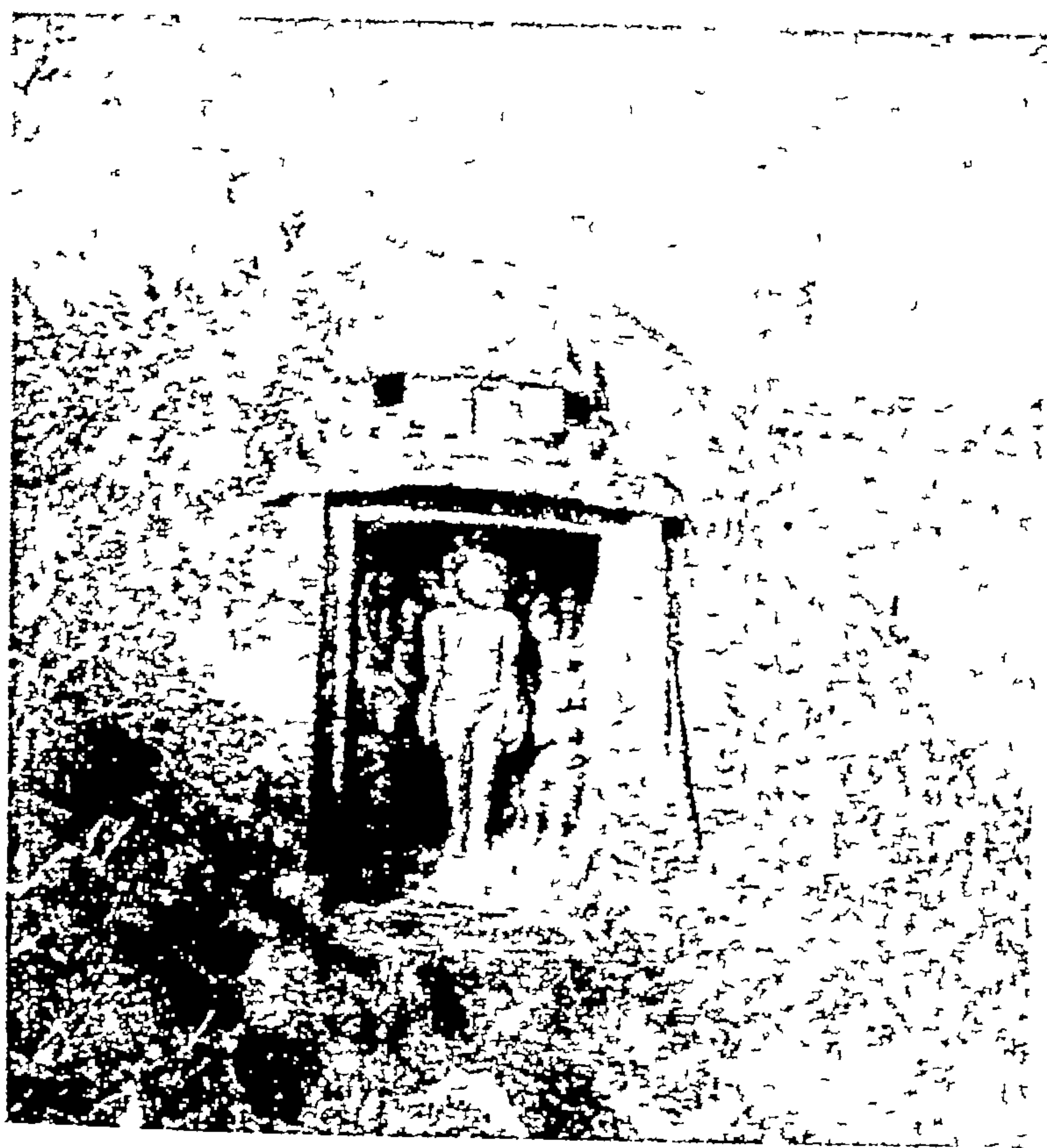


Fig. 4 Pārśvanātha—Karuppankunru

PLATE V



Fig 5 The Karuppankunru Inscription

to that of the sculptures of Māmallapuram There is little doubt that the sculptures on this hill were executed sometime during the 7th and 8th centuries A D

Fig. 5 Text of the inscription mentioning Vasudeva Siddhānta-bhatāra—

1. *Śrī-Caturvim-*
 - 2 *śati-sthāva(pa)ka-Va-*
 - 3 *sudeva Siddhā*
 - 4 *nta-bhatārar*
 5. *śeyvitta*
 - 6 *devāram (11)*
-

VIII

JAINISM IN TONDAIMANDALAM

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The advent of Jainism in South India is attributed, on the basis of a Digambara tradition, to the migration of the Jain community under the Śrutakevalin Bhadrabāhu to the Mysore region in the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.¹ Its further movement into the Tamil country can be traced through the Kongu region southwards to the southernmost Districts of Tamilnadu, where we come across the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions associated with the Jains.²

The provenance of the early Brāhmī records indicates their probable movement from Mysore through the Kongu country to the Madurai-Tirunelveli regions, a few Jains trickling into some of the adjoining areas like Tiruchirappalli. This view is strengthened by the same Digambara tradition, according to which Bhadrabāhu perceiving his end when he reached Śravaṇa Belgola, sent his disciples under one, Viśākhācārya to the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya countries³

Subsequently, the religion may have spread into Tondaimandalam, where the earliest Brāhmī record comes from Māmaṇḍūr in the North Arcot District⁴ with, however, no definite Jain associations. The Tirunātharkunṅu epitaphs⁵ of two Jain teachers, Candranandi-ācārya and Ilaiyapadārar, are of primary importance for fixing the beginning of the history of the Jain religion in Tondaimandalam about the

1 P B Desai, *Jainism in South India*, pp 1, 25, K R Venkatarama Ayyar, 'South Indian Jainism', *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1957-58, p 24

2 I Mahadevan, 'Corpus of Tamil Brāhmī Inscriptions', *Seminar on Inscriptions*, ed. R. Nagaswamy, Madras, 1966.

3 *Ep Carn*, Vol. II, pp 38-39.

4 *A. R. Ep*, 1939-40, No 171, Mahadevan, *op cit*, No XVIII.

5 *A. R. Ep*, 1904, Nos. 238-39

5th century A.D. Tamil literature of the pre-Tēvāram period is not of much help in fixing the beginnings of Jain history in this region. The Sangam works have hardly any notable reference to this faith in the Tamil country, though the two epics, *Śilappadikāram* and *Manimēkalai*, contain numerous accounts relating to the Jains. However, the date of the epics is a matter of controversy, some scholars assigning them to the 2nd century A.D. and others to the post-Sangam period, i.e. after the 3rd century A.D. In addition, their references relate more directly to the Cōla, Pāndya and Cēra countries.

The *Padinenkīlkanakku* works, of which the greater number including the *Kural* are probably of Jain authorship, appear to be works of the post-Sangam period and would hardly serve our purpose in discussing Jain history in the northern parts of Tamilnadu, except that Valluvar, the author of the *Kural* is said to be a native of Mayilāppūr (Mylapore in Madras). Further more, the Kalabhras, who are believed to have been followers of Jainism and Buddhism and to have created a political and cultural vacuum in Tamilnadu after the Sangam age, are known to have occupied some parts of the Pāndya and Cōla countries and not directly any part of Tondaimaṇḍalam. The revival of Pāndya power, together with 'the old order' of things, is assigned to Kadungōn's line in Madurai, i.e. from about the close of the 6th century A.D. Much is made of Pallava Simhaviṣṇu's role in the extirpation of the Kalabhras,⁶ while, in reality, the Pallava claims regarding his achievements probably adopted the usual mode of listing a number of the then known powerful ruling families. There is no question of a revival of Pallava power in Tondaimaṇḍalam. For all available evidences point to their more or less continuous occupation of this region from the time of Viṣṇugopa (c. 350 A.D.) to the 9th century A.D.⁷ The *Loka-vibhāga* datum supports our view by supplying the Śaka

6 The Kaśākkudi plates mention the Kalabhras among those vanquished by Simhaviṣṇu (*S. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. II, p. 356, verse 20).

7 See T. V. Mahalingam, *Kāñcīpuram in Early South Indian History*, Chapters II ff.

equivalent of the 22nd regnal year of a Simhavarman as 380 = 458 A.D.⁸ It also lends additional support in fixing the beginnings of Jain history (the only literary evidence before the *Tēvārām*) in about the 5th century A.D., for it was copied by one Sarvanandin, a Jain teacher in Pāṭalikā (Pāṭalipura or Tiruppādirippuliyūr near Cuddalore in the South Arcot District)⁹ where a Jain monastery existed at least from the middle of the 5th century till probably the first half of the 7th, the period of Appar or Tirunāvukkaraśar, one of the *Tēvāram* trio.¹⁰

The above survey of evidences available from epigraphy and literature regarding the initial appearance of Jainism in Tondaimandalam has been necessary to establish (1) that the religion spread there much later than in the southernmost districts, probably after the 4th century A.D., and (2) that the religion could not have spread in the area through Āndhradeśa as suggested by Dr P B Desai¹¹ More than all this, the Jain epigraphs in this region become more numerous only after the 7th century and, curiously enough, belong to that period, i.e. 8th and 9th centuries (and also later under the Cōlas in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries), which followed the oft-quoted conversion of the royal benefactor, Mahendrarvarman I (c 600-30 A.D.), from Jainism to Śaivism, inspired by the conversion of Appar to Śaivism, as one of the causes for the decline of the Jain faith.

The religious conflict between the exponents of the Bhakti cult and the so-called 'heterodox' Buddhists and Jains is said to have raged between the 7th and 9th centuries A.D.* and, if

8 *Ibid*, p 43

9 R Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kāñcī*, p 12

10 P B Desai says that the Drāviḍa-saṅgha existed at Pāṭalipura as early as the 1st century B.C. (*op cit*, p 49). This is not acceptable

11 Desai, *op cit*, pp 25, 32

*[From about the beginning of the 5th century, the Pallava kings claim to have been *Kali-yuga-doṣ-āvasanna-dharm-oddharana-nitya-sannaddha* which apparently refers to Brāhmanical success against Buddhism and Jainism. Cf Sircar, *Suc Sāt*, pp 196-97 —Ed.]

the Jain inscriptions are any proof, the admitted success of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints (such as Appar and Sambandar and Tirumaliśai, Tondaradippodī and Tirumangai) failed—paradoxically—to root out the heresy against which they spearheaded their activities

The course of events appear to be quite different and may be outlined briefly as follows. Jainism spread in Tondai-mandalam from about the 4th century A D. and acquired numerous votaries by the 7th century incurring the hostility of the adherents of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava faiths. A Jain monastery of considerable importance flourished in Pāṭalikā from the 5th century A D and even attracted Appar who, as Dharmasena, became its Abbot in the 7th century¹² Appar or Tirunāvukkaraśar, later turned to Śaivism and lamented his past associations with the Jains whom he accuses in his hymns of having persecuted him¹³ The *Periya Purāṇam*, a later work and a well-known Śaiva hagiological text, highlights these events in the *Tirunāvukkaraśar Purāṇam* and brings in a Kādava who, inspired by Appar, turned to the Śaiva faith and destroyed the monastery at Pāṭalipura to erect a Śiva temple at Tiruvadigai (South Arcot District) called Gunadara-viccuram¹⁴ *Gunadhara* is equated with *Gunabhara* and hence identified with Pallava Mahendravarman I.

Mahendravarman's predilection to Jainism need not be disputed when one considers the Jain leanings of some of his predecessors, including the mother of Simhaviśnu, i.e the queen of Simhavarman¹⁵ In his sixth regnal year (i.e before 550 A D) Simhavarman issued the Pallankovil copper-plate grant,¹⁶ donating lands to a Jain teacher Vajranandin for conducting worship in the Vardhamāna temple at Paruttikunru, the same as Tirupparuttikunru or Jina-Kāñci which contains

12 *Periya Purāṇam, Tirunāvukkaraśar Purāṇam*, vv 37-40

13 Appar, *Tēvāram*

14 *Tirunāvukkaraśar Purāṇam*

15 See the Hosakote plates, *Mys Arch Rep*, 1938, pp 22-23

16 T N Subramanian, 'Pallankovil Jaina Copper Plate Grant', *Trans. Arch Soc S Ind*, 1958-59, pp 42ff

an old temple of Mahāvīra, renovated subsequently under the Cōla and Vijayanagar rulers. This Jain centre near Kāñcīpuram was the pontifical seat of the Jains before it was superseded by Cittāmūr, the present headquarters of the Pontiff of the Tamil Jains, probably after the 15th century A. D. The close relations that existed between the Pallavas and Gaṅgas in the 6th century also account for the popularity of Jainism.

Mahendravarman's leanings to Jainism are also believed to be implied in the absence of any reference to the Jains in his well-known satire in Sanskrit, the *Mattavilāsaprahasana*.¹⁷ His conversion to Śaivism is likewise read into the words of the famous Tiruchirappalli cave inscription, viz., *vipakṣa-vṛtteḥ parāvṛttam* (turned from hostile conduct, etc., to the worship of the *linga*) found in the Lalitāñkura-Pallaveśvaragrha.¹⁸ However, the controversy over the interpretation of this record has not yet been set at rest.

If the *Periya Purāṇam* reference to a Kādava is to Mahendravarman (Guṇabhara), then his conversion led to serious consequences for the Jains, who lost an important monastic centre at Pātalikā. At Tiruvadigai, there is a much dilapidated brick shrine, containing even to-day a huge Dhārā-līṅga of the Pallava style, which goes by the name of Guṇadara-viccuram. The area contains a few Jain vestiges, and the saint convert Appar is said to have realised the superiority of the Śaiva religion at this Virattānam or Śiva temple.

The religious activities of Mahendravarman's successors would in no way indicate a complete annihilation of the Jains after the 7th century. Most of them personally favoured the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava faiths, but, as true statesmen, did not

17 C. V. Narayana Ayyar, *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India*, pp. 303-04. According to K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the Jains are criticised, but not vehemently. See 'The Mattavilāsaprahasana of Mahendravarman', in *Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai Comm. Vol.*, 1957, pp. 85-90.

18 *Guṇabhara-nāmmi rājani anena līṅgena līṅgiṇi jñānam*
prathatām cirūya loke vipakṣa-vṛtteḥ parāvṛttam||

(*S. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 29)

neglect the protagonists of the other faiths. They even patronised Jain centres, institutions and temples by extending their largesses liberally. Hiuen-tsang, who visited India in the 7th century A. D. and was at Kāñci about 643 A.D., declares that the Jains were very numerous in his days and that Buddhism and Brāhmanism were almost on a par¹⁹

Rājasimha, a pious Śaiva, built the Candraprabha temple at Jina-Kāñci.²⁰ Under Nandivarman II, Jain monasteries and nunneries flourished at Vedāl, Tiruppānmalai and Sāttamaṅgalam in the North Arcot District. In many of these places, the Cōlas took up the work of the Pallavas in patronising Jain institutions such as those at Vedāl, Tiruppānmalai and Tirumalai

Following the Cōlas, the Kādavarāyas, Pāndyas and Vijayanagar rulers continued to favour the Jain institutions, though not with the same zeal that characterised their activities relating to the other faiths, particularly their personal faiths. Thus from about the 5th to the 13th century A. D., the Jains enjoyed patronage under the Pallavas and Cōlas, in spite of the Bhakti movement. However, the Cōla period, which is the golden age of the Śaiva religion, witnessed the decline of some Jain centres after the age of Rājarāja I. Contact with Karnāṭaka probably kept alive some of the Jain institutions such as those of Tirumalai, Cittāmūr and Jina-Kāñci and further south in the Pudukkottai, Madurai, Ramanathpuram and Tirunelveli areas.

By virtue of their rich contribution to Tamil literature, the Jains retained their importance and position unimpaired in the intellectual world. Most of their works, e.g., the major *kāvyas* like the *Jivakacintāmani*, and *Valaiyāpati*, minor *kāvyas* like the *Nilakeśi* and *Perunkathai* and works on grammar, prosody and lexicography like the *Nannūl*, the three *Niṅandus* and

19 R. Sewell, *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, Vol I, pp. 176-77.

20 T. N. Ramachandran, *Tirupparuttikuṇṇam and its Temples*, pp. 12-13. It was not built by Mahendravarman. See P. B. Desai, *op cit*, . 34.

Sangam at Madurai ²⁴ The above traditions have no basis, and there are more than one Jain teacher who bore the name Elācārya ²⁵ There is hardly any proof that Kundakunda visited the Tamil country or that he became the Pontiff at Pātalipura It is also significant that the palm-leaf manuscript (without heading) from the Vardhamāna temple at Tirupparuttikkunram giving a list of the principal propagators of *dharma* in the fifth age (*duṣama*) as *Mukhya-Pañcamakāla-Dharma-pravartakas* mentions Kundakunda and Helācārya as distinct from each other and places them as the sixth and fifth respectively in the line of propagators ²⁶

Intimate association of the Jain *gurus* of Karnāṭaka with the Tamil country seems to have begun only after Sāmantabhadrā He is generally accepted to have lived in the earlier part of the 2nd century A D ²⁷ But inscriptions mentioning him and recording his activities belong to a much later period, ranging from the beginning of the 12th century to the 15th century In some of them, he is placed as Pontiff immediately after Kundakunda and, in others, his place is next to Balākapiñcca, a disciple of Kundakunda, but he was not the immediate disciple of Balākapiñcca ²⁸ The palm-leaf manuscript from Jina-Kāñcī, mentioned above, speaks of Sāmantabhadrā as the twentyfourth in the line of principal propagators, i e., he is separated from Kundakunda by eighteen other Jain teachers

Sāmantabhadrā is known to have visited Kāñcīpura. A Śravana Belgola record of 1129 A D ²⁹ gives a graphic description of his career, stating that he visited several important cities including Pāṭaliputra (probably Patna as it is

24 B A Saletore, *op cit*, p 53

25 An Elācārya is mentioned in a late inscription of Śaka 1655 (1733 A D.) from Ponnūr in the North Arcot District (*A R Ep*, 1928-29, No 416)

26 T N Ramachandran, *op cit*, pp. 215-16.

27 B A Saletore, *op cit*, p 225

28 *Ep Carn*, Vol II, Nos 64, 66-67 and 258

29 *Ibid*, No 67

work, some manuscripts whereof have come down to us and form the basis of the published editions.⁴⁹ A cursory examination of the relevant evidence would not be out of context.

In the colophons of its various chapters, the work is variously called *Bhadrabāhukanimitta*, *Bhadrabāhunimittasāstra*, *Bhadrabāhukanaimitta*, *Bhadrabāhu-viracita-nimittasāstra*, *Bhadrabāhu-viracita-Mahānī(or nai)mittasāstra* and *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*. Taken at their face value, these names will lead one to the conclusion that it emanates from Bhadrabāhu which is quite in conformity with the late Jain tradition. But this claim is belied by the internal evidence of the work itself. It begins in the Paurāṇic fashion and we are told that once upon a time when Bhadrabāhu, the possessor of the knowledge of the twelve Angas, was seated on the Pāṇḍugirī hill near Rājagṛha in Magadha during the reign of king Senajit, he was requested by his pupils to impart in brief the knowledge of astrological phenomena for the benefit of kings, lay followers and particularly asectics. Bhadrabāhu thereupon agreed to explain to them everything both in brief and in detail.⁵⁰ This statement is vitiated by some grave anachronisms. It is well known that during the time of Bhadrabāhu, well-versed in the twelve Angas, Candragupta Maurya was the ruler of practically the whole of India including Magadha whereas no ruler of Magadha named Senajit is known from any other source.⁵¹ Then again, Pāṭalīputra, not Rājagṛha, was the

49. A Gujarati translation by Pandit Hiralal Hamsaraj was published from Bombay in Vikrama 1959 and the text was published a few years later by the same Pandit from Jamnagar. The text critically edited from four manuscripts and with an enlightening introduction by Amritlal S. Gopani and a foreword by Muni Jinavijaya was published in the Singhi Jain Series, No. 26, Bombay, 1949. Later, Nemichandra Shastri edited it from two manuscripts with an introduction and Hindi translation (Varanasi, 1959). Gopani's edition contains twenty-six chapters and that of Shastri twenty-seven chapters and an additional chapter called *Parīṣṭ-ādhyāya*. Unless otherwise stated, references in the present paper pertain to Gopani's edition.

50. *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*, I 1-20, II.1-2.

51. Unless, of course he is identified with Seniya Bimbisāra. Prasenajit of Kosala is out of question.

capital of Magadha during the reign of Bhadrabāhu's royal patron, Candragupta Maurya ; Rājagṛha had long ceased to occupy this position. Evidently, in his eagerness to give a halo of antiquity to the work, its compiler lost sight of all historical facts. This introductory portion, wherein Bhadrabāhu is styled *mahātman* and *bhagavat*, clearly indicates that the work could not have emanated from any Bhadrabāhu, neither the *śrutakevalin* nor any of his later namesakes. This conclusion is also supported by some other considerations. Thus at one place we are told that an intelligent person should decide the prospects of rainfall after hearing the words of Bhadrabāhu (XI.52). At another place it is stated that Bhadrabāhu described the prospects of fluctuation of prices after observing the auspicious and inauspicious *yogas* of the planets and stars (XXV.50) Then again, the expression 'these are the words of Bhadrabāhu' (*Bhadrabāhu-vaco yathā*) is met with repeatedly throughout the work ⁵² Secondly, the Chedasūtras attributable to Bhadrabāhu I and the *niryuktis* and the *Uvasaggaharapāsa* of a later Bhadrabāhu are all in Prakrit, and it is reasonable to assume that even if any of these Bhadrabāhus really composed a *Samhitā* it should also have been in the same language, whereas the extant *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* is in Sanskrit. Thirdly, Merutunga and Rājaśekharaśūrī represent Bhadrabāhu as a superior rival of Varāhamihira, and we shall not be unjustified in expecting Bhadrabāhu's *Samhitā*, intended to compete with his rival Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsamhitā*,⁵³ to excel the latter work in point of contents and presentation. The case is, however, just the opposite. The *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* lacks unity of composition. A majority of chapters begin with a verse stating that the author would delineate such and such a subject.⁵⁴ No such statement is,

52 *Ibid.*, III 31, 64 ; VI.17, VII 19 ; IX 26, 62, X 16, 44, XI 26, 30 ; XII 37, XIII.74, 100, 178, XIV 54, 136 ; XV.36, 72, 127, 145, 166, 178 ; XVIII.24 ; XX.14 ; XXIII.28, XXIV 23, XXVI 42.

53 Called *Vārāhī Samhitā* in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* and *Prabandha-kośa*.

54 In some cases, the concluding verse of a chapter mentions the subject dealt with in the following chapter.

however, found at the commencement of some chapters⁵⁵ In the introductory portion, the author promises to deal with every topic in brief (*samāsataḥ*) as well as in detail (*vyāsataḥ*),⁵⁶ but he keeps this promise only in a few cases.⁵⁷ Then, at the beginning of the Svapn-ādhyāya (Ch XXVI), there is a fresh *mangal-ācarana*⁵⁸ which shows that originally it did not form a part of the work and was added to it in later times, probably because the topic is mentioned in the list of contents given in the opening chapter (I 17). The same is the case with Ch XXX called *Parīśiṣṭ-ādhyāya*.^{58a} The chapters are not arranged in a scientific manner. Thus no intelligible system is adopted in the delineation of planetary movements (*grāha-cāra*) which form the subject matter of Chs. XV-XXIII. The movements of Venus, which receive the most elaborate treatment, claim the first place (Ch. XV) and are followed by those of Saturn (Ch. XVI). One would naturally expect it to be followed by the treatment of the remaining planets from Sun to Jupiter in their fixed serial order. But such is not the case, and an arbitrary order is adopted. After Saturn comes Jupiter (Ch XVII) to be followed by Mercury, Mars, Rāhu, Ketu, the Sun and the Moon (Chs XVIII-XXIII). The case is not very different regarding the arrangement of other chapters.⁵⁹ In some cases, part of one topic is dealt with in one chapter while another part of the same subject is reserved for treatment in a stanza of a

55 Cf Chs III, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVII

56 *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*, II.2

57 Thus, *ulkā* is described in brief in Ch II and in detail in Ch. III. This practice is not followed in respect of other topics.

58 *Namaskṛtya Mahāvīram sur-āsura-janair=nutamī*

Svapn-ādhyāyam pravakṣyāmi śubh-āśubha-samīritam (XXVI 1)

58a *Śrīmad=Vīra-jinam natvā Bhāratīn=ca Pulindīnīm*

smṛtvā nimittāni vakṣye sv-ātmanah kārya-siddhaye (*Parīśiṣṭa*, v 2)

59 Clouds, rainfall and connected matters are dealt with in four chapters (VI, VIII, X, XII) which are separated from one another by chapters dealing with other topics like twilight (VII), winds (IX) and *gandharva-nagara* (XI).

subsequent chapter intervened by a large number of verses. To cite only one example, the quantum of the effects of two of the five kinds of *ulkā*, viz., Tārā and Dhiṣṇya, is described in verse 9 of Ch. II, while that of the three remaining kinds, viz., Aśani, Vidyut and Ulkā, is specified in verse 12 of the following chapter. Then there are numerous repetitions not only of ideas but even of words, sometimes in one and the same chapter. Verse 7 of Chapter XIII is, for instance, repeated once again after an interval of just sixteen verses (XIII 23).⁶⁰ Although minor defects of language, metre and grammar are not uncommon in texts dealing with technical subjects like astrology, astronomy, medicine and philosophy, the *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* is vitiated by these defects in an unprecedentedly serious proportion which many a time hamper a proper understanding of the text.⁶¹ As against this, the *Bṛhatsamhitā* is distinguished by well-knit chapters arranged scientifically, succinct but self-sufficient delineation of relevant topics, variety of metres skilfully used, clarity of expression, general correctness of language which varies according to the requirements of the topics dealt with, originality and poetic talent, qualities conspicuous by their absence in the work allegedly composed by Bhadrabāhu. The *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* cannot thus stand comparison with Varāhamihira's work, not to speak of surpassing it which was the avowed purpose of composing it. But this is not all. Many statements of Varāhamihira are repeated in the *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*, sometimes with the only difference that, while the former employs only a few words, the latter says the same thing in so many words. To mention only a few examples, Ch. XXXIII of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* and Chs. II-III of the *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* deal with *ulkā*. Varāhamihira defines *ulkā* and names its five varieties in XXXIII 1 which is reiterated in so many words in the *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*, II. 5-6. The quantum of the effects of the five kinds of *ulkā* is described in a single stanza by Varāhamihira (XXXIII. 3) and the same is repeated by

60 This has reference to Nemichandra Shastri's ed.

61 For some such defects, see Gopani, *op. cit*, intro., pp. 19-20.

Bhadrabāhu in two verses (II. 9 ; III. 12) in somewhat similar words. There is a surprising degree of similarity of words and ideas between the two works in many other places.^{61a} The *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*, XXVII. 1 is adapted from the *Brhatsamhitā*, IX 38, and XXVII. 2-3 of the former are literally the same as IX. 39 and V 97 of the latter.⁶² Then again, verses 183-95 of the *Parīśiṣṭ-ādhyāya* of the *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* are borrowed *ad verbatim* from the *Brhatsamhitā*, LXX. 1-7, 9-13, 8. We shall, therefore, not be unjustified in concluding that not only is the *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* inferior to the *Vārāhī-Samhitā*, but is also indebted to it for many ideas and verses and is consequently later than it.⁶³

Although the extant *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* is thus later than the *Brhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira, it is not possible to ascertain its date precisely in the present state of insufficient information. In the absence of definite evidence on the point, scholars have naturally offered diverse suggestions. The oldest available manuscript of the text was copied on Tuesday, the 5th of the bright half of Caitra in [Vikrama] Samvat 1504 or in c. 1447 A D.⁶⁴ But Muni Jinavijaya opines that the work is probably a Sanskritised version of Bhadrabāhu's work which was composed in Prakrit and then even the Sanskrit version is at least as old as the 11th or 12th century of the Vikrama era.^{64a} A.S. Gopani says at one place

61a Cf *Brhatsamhitā*, XXXIII 4, 8, and *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*, II 8-9 ; *Brhatsamhitā*, XXXIII.9-10, 12, 15-16, 18-19, and *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*, III.5, 9, 16, 18-19. For a detailed comparison between the two works, see *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*, ed Gopani, intro., pp 6-19, 22-32.

62 As pointed out above, Ch XXVII is found only in Nemichandra Shastri's ed.

63 Nemichandra Shastri's view that the first twenty-five (particularly, fifteen) chapters, were probably composed earlier than Varāhamihira (intro, pp 55-56) is contradicted by his own statement that the work may have been compiled in the 8th-9th century A.D. (*ibid*, p 55). As pointed out by him, the mention of Durga's work on *riṣṭas* in the *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*, *Parīśiṣṭ-ādhyāya*, verse 10, clearly shows that at least this chapter is later than 1032 A D (*ibid*, p. 54).

64 See the *puṣpikā* in Gopani's ed, p. 70.

64a *Ibid*, Jinavijaya's foreword, pp 3-4.

that the above-mentioned dated manuscript shows that the work cannot be later than the 16th century of Vikrama⁶⁵ while later he avers that it was composed after the 15th century of Vikrama⁶⁶. It is difficult to accept either of these views. While we need not deny that Bhadrabāhu did really compose a work on astrology, the internal evidence of the extant work, discussed above, clearly proves that it is neither based on nor is a Sanskrit version of Bhadrabāhu's work. So also the 11th-12th century date suggested by Jinavijayaji can at best be regarded as a pure surmise. The dated manuscript indicates that the work must have been in existence for some time prior to the date of its copying, Vikrama 1504. This rules out Gopani's suggestion that it came into existence after the 15th century of Vikrama. It is not impossible that the episode of Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira found in the *Prabandha-cintāmani* and *Prabandhakōśa* has an important bearing on the question. Although the former work is fully aware of Bhadrabāhu's mastery over astrology, it does not contain any allusion to the *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* which is first mentioned in the latter work. There is, of course, no reason to doubt that the *Bhādrabāhavī Samhitā* known to Rājaśekharaśūri was the same as the extant *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*. Can we, on this basis, conclude that the available *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* came into existence sometime during the gap between the dates of these two works, i.e., between Vikrama 1361 and 1405?

It will be clear from the foregoing discussion that the work now known as *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* has nothing to do with any of the Bhadrabāhus and is quite a recent compilation, and an unintelligent one at that, dating from about the middle of the present millennium. Its compiler, who was a man of ordinary calibre, ascribed it to Bhadrabāhu, evidently with the object of giving it sanctity, popularity and authoritative-ness. His knowledge of Bhadrabāhu's traditional mastery of

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, author's intro, p. 6.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

astrology⁶⁷ must have emboldened him to do so. This was not uncommon in ancient India as a number of comparatively late texts ascribed to traditionally reputed astrologers and astronomers are known to exist even now.⁶⁸ The extant *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* is thus a very late compilation forged in the name of the renowned Jain patriarch.⁶⁹

The text of the *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* as it has come down to us bears the appearance of a Jain work of the Digambara school. It begins with a salutation to Jina Vira, i. e., Mahāvira,⁷⁰ and, we have seen above, is represented to have been composed by Bhadrabāhu in response to the request of his pupils. The object of its composition among other things, was to enable the Jain monks to know in advance the places to be visited by calamities and take refuge in other prosperous countries (I.11). Bhadrabāhu is styled Nirgrantha (I. 6) and described as sky-clad (*Dig-vāsa*, II 1). The work is said to have been based on the words of Sarvajña (I. 11, 14) or Jina (II. 2), and a statement found in it is represented to be from the *Nirgranthaśāsana* or the sayings of the Nirgranthas (IV. 28).⁷¹ In the colophons of individual chapters, the title of the work,

67 *Nemittio* (*Naimittika*) is known to have been employed as one of the synonyms used for Bhadrabāhu. See Puṇyavijaya, *op cit*, p 15, note 3

68 Such are, for example, the works attributed to Brahman, Vasiṣṭha, Sūrya, Maya, Garga, Kaśyapa, etc. Similar works exist in the field of Dharmaśāstra, Āyurveda and Śilpaśāstra also

69 As an analogy we may mention the fact that, as works supposed to have been composed by the *gaṇadharas* were regarded as more authoritative than those composed by others, in later times the tendency to attribute even late works to them came into existence. Thus, some of the Cheda-sūtras and even some Purāṇas came to be ascribed to the *gaṇadharas* (Dalsukh Malvania, *Gaṇadharavāda kī Prastāvanā*, pp 8-12, *Niśītha . Eka Adhyayana*, pp. 18-20).

70 This verse is found only in Shastri's ed. The opening verse of Ch. XXVI also pays obeisance to Mahāvira.

71 According to XX 1, the movement of Rāhu dealt with in Ch. XX is also based on the teachings of the Nirgranthas well versed in the twelve Aṅgas. Likewise, XIII 42 (Shastri's ed.) proclaims that the *nimittas* dealt with in the chapter are actually those spoken by the Jina (*Jina-bhāṣita*).

i. e., *Bhadrabāhukanimitta* or *Bhadrabāhunimittasāstra*, is generally qualified by the adjective *Nairgrantha*, i. e., belonging to the Nirgranthas.⁷² Then again at the end of some of the chapters the monks are advised to leave one country and seek shelter in another if the former was to be afflicted by certain disasters (XII. 38 ; XIV. 181 ; XV. 230 , XXV. 49).⁷³ But a close examination of the contents reveals a number of Brāhmaṇical elements which tell us a quite different tale. Thus, speaking of the importance of the *nimittas* while undertaking a military expedition, it is said that even the gods had taken the *nimittas* into account (XIII. 23). We are further told in the same vein that neither the Vedas nor the Aṅgas (i. e., Vedāṅgas) nor the sciences (*vidyās*), taken individually, can meet those requirements which are met with by a well-told *nimitta*.⁷⁴ One would normally expect a Jain text to enumerate the various branches of learning beginning with the canon and not with the Vedas which were an object of reverence only for the followers of Brāhmaṇical Hinduism. It cannot be argued that the word *angā* may have reference to the Jain canon comprising twelve Aṅgas, for, as the word is preceded by reference to the Vedas, it can denote only the Vedāṅgas. Considerable space is devoted to the description of portents taken from fire while performing *homa* (offerings to fire) on the eve of a military march (XIII. 52-60). The Brāhmaṇical practice of regarding the *nakṣatras* as presided over by various gods and referring to them by the names of respective divinities is also followed (III 38-39 ; XIII. 96-27). As a means of warding off certain evil portents, the author recommends the worship of gods, Brāhmaṇas initiated for the performance of Vedic sacrifices (*dikṣita*), elderly people and Brahmācārins, for the sins of the kings are extinguished by

72 Occasionally we find the use of the word *Nirgrantha* which is evidently an error for *Nairgrantha*. [It may not be regarded as an error.—Ed.]

73 Also cf. XIV.182 ; XXI.58 , XXIII 58 ; XXIV.43.

74 *Na Vedā n=āpi c=āngāni na vidyās=ca prthak prthak/*
prasādhayanti tām=arthān nimittam yat subhāṣitam (XIII 38)

their penance (XIII.116). Referring to the duties of a king after the conquest of a new territory, the work recommends that he should worship the gods, elderly people, Brāhmanical ascetics or Brahmācārins (*lingastha*), Brāhmanas and teachers and make revenue-free land grants (XIII.181) ^{74a} No mention is made in this connection of Jain monks which would be reasonably expected of a Jain author. Again, while dealing with the *utpātas* relating to divine images, the author first names Brāhmanical gods and goddesses like Vaiśravaṇa, Candra, Varuṇa, Rudra, Indra, Baladeva, ⁷⁵ Vāsudeva, ⁷⁶ Pradyumna, Sūrya, Śrī, Viśvakarman, Bhadrakālī, ⁷⁷ Indrāṇī, Dhanvantari, Jāmadagnya Rāma (Paraśurāma) and Sulasā (XIV. 62-81), and it is only while summarising the whole thing again that mention is made of the images of the Arhats (XIV. 82). One would be justified in expecting a Jain author to accord the Tīrthankara images a place of honour and others a secondary place. The case is, however, just the opposite. And lastly, the author is not only familiar with, but gives great importance to the Brāhmanical system of the four Varnas. Thus, while describing the effects of astrological phenomena on worldly life, he generally begins with the mention of the four castes in the prescribed order. He also appears to believe in the traditional association of colours and castes and frequently refers to white, red, yellow and black phenomena as particularly affecting the Brāhmanas, Ksatriyas, Vaiśyas and

^{74a} Cf XXI.54 which recommends the worship, among others, of those initiated for the performance of Vedic sacrifices, manes and Brāhmaṇas for warding off the effects of the appearance of evil comets

⁷⁵ The reading in the relevant verse is *balandeva* (XIV 68) and there is also a variant, *bale kaścin*, which gives no sense. The correct reading, particularly as Vāsudeva is mentioned in the following stanza, must be *Baladeve*, which has been corrupted to *balandeva* in the interest of the metre.

⁷⁶ The mention of Vāsudeva after Baladeva points to the earlier period when Vira-worship was popular. The verse in question (XIV 69), as well as the preceding one, therefore, appears to have been taken from some early text

⁷⁷ Gopani's ed gives the reading *bhadrastālī* (XIV.75) which is obviously a mistake for *Bhadrakālī* as given by Shastri.

Śūdras respectively.⁷⁸ These few instances picked up at random appear to reveal that the extant *Bhadrabāhusaṃhitā* probably originated out of a Brāhmanical text which was later converted to a Jain one by introducing a few changes and additions such as the introductory portion associating the work with Bhadrabāhu, the concluding stanzas at the end of some chapters referring to the utility of the predictions for Jain monks and occasional references to the worship of Jina images and such other kindred elements.⁷⁹ But the garb is transparent enough to reveal its original character which is quite eloquent.

Did then Bhadrabāhu not compose any work on astrology? As we have noted above, he was traditionally reputed to have been well-versed in astrology (*nimittas*), and it is quite possible that he may have composed some work on the subject. But if he really did so, unfortunately we know neither its title nor the exact nature and extent of its contents. It was probably not known as *Bhadrabāhusaṃhitā*, for this name is not met with in the extensive Jain literature prior to about the middle of the fourteenth century A D. The title was obviously imitated from Varāhamihira's *Samhitā* which, in addition to the name *Brhatsaṃhitā*, was also called *Vārāhī Samhitā* after the author's name, with the motive of highlighting the alleged competition of Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu, which was a creation of wild imagination on the part of some Jain authors.

And just as the statement of the author of the *Prabandha-kośa* about Bhadrabāhu writing a *Samhitā* alleged to have been christened after his own name is untrustworthy, so also must be his alleged contemporaneity and relationship with Varāhamihira. Thus, the Varāhamihira-Bhadrabāhu episode narrated by Merutuṅga and Rājaśekharaśūri does not appear to possess any historical value and as such need not be taken into account in any historical study. It is noteworthy in this

78 E.g., XIV 22-23, 31, 58, 99-101, XX.2, 57; cf XIV.57 (association of certain trees and castes); XXIV.18-21 (association of certain *tūhis* and castes).

79 Cf. XIII.76; *Parīśiṣṭ-ādhyāya*, verses 30, 143, 158, etc.

connection that this anecdote is not found in any work datable before the fourteenth century A D

The following are therefore our conclusions—

(i) The contemporaneity of the *srutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira contemplated by Merutunga and Rājaśekhara-sūri must be rejected as it goes against the internal evidence of Varāhamihira's own works

(ii) It is possible that the episode has reference to a later Bhadrabāhu who composed the *niryuktis* and was confused with his earlier namesake because of the sameness of their names

(iii) An examination of the available *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* proves that it has nothing to do with any of the personages bearing the name Bhadrabāhu and that it is inferior to and later than Varāhamihira's *Brhatsamhitā* to which it is indebted for many an idea and stanza. In fact, it is an unintelligent compilation of about the middle of the present millennium attributed to Bhadrabāhu with the object of according it a respectable position

(iv) The text of the *Bhadrabāhusamhitā* as it has come down to us appears to belong to the Digambara sect of Jainism. But a critical appraisal of its contents reveals that, in all probability, the text was originally a Brāhmaṇical one and was later given a Jain appearance by adding a few Jainistic elements here and there

(v) Although Bhadrabāhu may have composed a work on astrology, it was probably not known as *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*, which name is met with for the first time in the fourteenth century A D.

(vi) As shown by a critical examination of the contents of the *Prabandhacintāmanī* and *Prabandhakośa*, also called *Caturvimśatiprabandha*, their authors, Merutunga and Rājaśekhara-sūri, had no historical sense, and the Varāhamihira-Bhadrabāhu episode recorded by them must be dismissed as of no historical value whatsoever *

*[The suggestion regarding the existence of several Bhadrabāhus is really not supported by any strong evidence.—Ed.]

X

A JAIN HISTORICAL TRADITION

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The Jain literature abounds in works containing numerous historical and pseudo-historical traditions¹ We had occasion to deal with a few of them belonging to various grades of reliability, in regard to all of which we cannot agree with the view that 'Jaina chroniclers deliberately manipulated history'.² The traditions examined by us include—(1) the chronology of Pradyota, Pālaka and others as found in Merutunga's *Therāvalī*, which we considered to be a late and unreliable fabrication,³ (2) the *Sthavirālicarita* or *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*⁴ by Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.) representing Nanda as the son of a courtesan by a barber, which is remarkably supported, strangely enough, by the Classical writer Curtius (first century A.D.) who says that the father of the last Nanda, contemporary of Alexander the Great, was a barber,⁵ (3) the two divergent traditions recorded in the *Tiloyapannatī* that the Guptas ruled for 231 years according to one and 255 years according to the other, both of which we have taken to be correct, the first suggesting the collapse of Gupta rule in U.P. about 550 A.D. and the latter pointing to its close in Orissa about 574 A.D.,⁶ and (4) the statement of the *Bappabhattacarita* that king Yaśovarman (c. 725-53 A.D.) of Kanauj was a descendant of Maurya Candragupta assigned to c. 324-300 B.C., which was so long rejected by

1 See G. C. Choudhary, *Political History of Northern India from Jain Sources (c. 650 to 1300 A.D.)*, pp. 1ff

2 C. H. Tawney, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, trans., p. xix.

3 *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*, p. 31.

4 VI 231-32

5 Cf. Sircar, 'Traders' Privileges Guaranteed by Kings' in *Early Indian Trade and Industry*, ed. Sircar, pp. 92ff.

6 *Essays presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, ed. H. R. Gupta, pp. 343-47.

historians, but may be really correct,⁷ because we have now discovered in a Mathurā inscription⁸ a seventh century Maurya king named Candragupta whose grandson Dindīrāja Karka claims to have burnt the city of Kānyakubja.

Recently our attention has been drawn to a statement in the *Sanatkumāracaritram* which is a section of Haribhadra's *Nemināhacariu*. Haribhadra, a pupil of Śricandra who was a pupil of Jinacandra, completed the *Nemināhacariu* in Apabhramśa in the year 1159 A D.⁹ We learn from the colophon of the said section that Vīra of the Prāgvāṭa community was Mūlarāja's minister in charge of the *ṭankaśālā* (mint) which produced coins bearing the figure of the goddess Laksmī.¹⁰ *Prāgvāṭa* is the Sanskrit form of the name of the *Por* or *Porwār* belonging to the Porwāl community of merchants of Western India, being one of the eighty-four *gacchas* or families of the Jains.¹¹ The said Mūlarāja is Mūlarāja I of the Caulukya or Solankī dynasty of Gujarat, who ruled in 961-96 A D.,¹² because Mūlarāja II of the same family reigned in 1176-78 A D.,¹³ i.e. sometime after the composition of the *Nemināhacariu*.

The above tradition, recorded by Haribhadra in 1159 A D. about a century and a half after the death of Mūlarāja I in 996 A D., seems to be genuine, because, in ancient and medieval India, coins once in the market remained in circulation for centuries, and it is possible that Haribhadra saw some such coins of Mūlarāja I. However, the tradition assumes some significance when we remember that no coins of the Caulukya or Solankī family have as yet been discovered. The question

7 *Bābū Choṭe Lāla Jaina Smṛti Grantha*, Calcutta, Part IV, pp 129ff.

8 See also *Ep Ind*, Vol XXXII, pp 207ff

9 Winternitz, *Hist Ind Lit*, Vol II, p 511

10 Choudhary, *op cit*, p 232. This Vīra of the Prāgvāṭa clan may be different from Mūlarāja's minister of the same name who is supposed to have belonged to the Cāpotkaṭa clan (A K Majumdar, *Caulukyas of Gujarat*, p 32)

11 See Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, s v *Porwāl*

12 H. C Ray, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 1047

13 *Ibid*, p. 1048

now is if the tradition is accepted as genuine, how can we explain the absence of any coin bearing the name of Mūlarāja ?

There may be several answers to this question, the first of them being that the coins were not issued in large quantities and the few coins that were available to the people were melted for making ornaments. We have other instances of this kind. Thus, although no coins bearing the name of any of the Sūryavamsī Gajapati kings of Orissa have so far been discovered, Jivadeva's *Bhaktibhāgavata* composed in 1510 A D. speaks of gold coins bearing the figure of Gopāla (Kṛṣṇa) and the king's name which had been issued by the author's disciple, the Gajapati king Pratāparudra (1497-1540 A D), and were in circulation in many lands.¹⁴ No such coin has, however, as yet come out. In the same way, the Rewa inscription (1193 A D)¹⁵ of Malayasimha a feudatory of Kalacuri Vijayasimha of Tripurī, says that the chief excavated a tank with 15,000 *ṭankakas* (i.e. *tanka*, probably of silver) stamped with the figure of the *Bhagavat* meaning the Buddha, though there is no indication regarding the issuer of the coins. In this case also, no coins of the type have been so far discovered.

Another possibility is that, unlike the Gopāla type gold coins of Pratāparudra which bore his name, the issues of Mūlarāja I referred to in Haribhadra's work may not have had a legend mentioning the king's name. In any case, the coins remind us of the seated Lakṣmī type issues (in gold and possibly also in silver) of the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (c 1015-41 A D.) and their imitations minted by the rulers of dynasties like the Candellas and Gāhadvālas.¹⁶ Mūlarāja I, however, ruled earlier than the said

14 Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 247

15 *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, pp 296ff, Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 2033

16 Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 72, Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 352-53

Kalacuri king and may have imitated the coins of the Kashmirian kings like Jayāpīda Vinayāditya (c 750-80 A.D.)¹⁷

In connection with the probable issue of coins by the Caulukya king Mūlarāja I, we have to refer the attribution of certain *dramma* coins to king Vīsala or Viśvamalla (c 1244-62 A D) of the Caulukya-Vāghela dynasty of Gujarat. Thus it has been said, "In the epigraphic records there are references to *Vīsalapūrī-dra*, *Vīsalapriya-dramma*, *Vīsa-dra* and *Vīsalapūrī-dra*. The *Lekhapaddhati* calls these both *Viśvamallapriya*- and *Vīsalapriya-dramma*. These coins have most likely to be ascribed to king Vīsaladeva of the Vāghelā dynasty [of Gujarāt]"¹⁸. We have, however, elsewhere tried to show that Vīsala or Viśvamalla, associated with the issue of these coins, was not the Caulukya-Vāghelā king who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century A D, but that he was really a *Śreṣṭhin* who was the lessee of the mint issuing the said coins¹⁹. In addition to our argument against the identification of the issuer of the coins with the Caulukya-Vāghelā king of the same name, we may now point out that the coins are described in the *Lekhapaddhati*²⁰ as produced at the mint (*ṭanka-śālā*) at Śrīmāla which was also called Bhīllamāla and is the same as modern Bhinmal in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan. It seems that the Bhinmal region of Jodhpur did not form any part of Vīsala's dominions. Even during the 'greatest expansion of the Caulukya kingdom' under Kumārapāla (1144-73 A D), the said 'area formed a border chieftaincy far away from the centre of the Caulukya king's power'. Haribhadra's statement, however, suggests that Mūlarāja I had a *ṭanka-śālā* at his capital.

17 Smith, *op cit*, p 269.

18 L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 197, cf *JNSI*, Vol XVII, pp 72f, *Lekhapaddhati*, pp 33, 37, 39, 42, 55. See also *A R Ep*, 1957-58, Nos 490-92.

19 *Ep Ind*, Vol XXXVII, pp 277-78, cf S. Bandyopadhyay, *JNSI*, Vol XXX, pp 96ff.

20 See pp 20, 42.

SUPPLEMENT

XI

THE JAIN *HARIVAMŚA*

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Unlike most of the ancient and early mediaeval Indian works, the date of the *Harivamśa* of Jinasena II¹ is known. The date which the poet himself has given in the colophon of his work (66 52) is Śaka 705 which corresponds to the year 783 of the Christian era. Jinasena II gives the names of some contemporary kings of India, viz. Indrāyudha of Kanauj,* Śrīvallabha, son king Kṛṣṇa of the South, i e. of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, Vatsarāja called *Avanti-bhūbhṛt* and Varāha of the West. Historical existence of all these four kings is proved by contemporary epigraphic records.² From the next verse (66 53), we learn that the composition of the poem was started at the town of Vardhamāna (modern Vadvān) in the temple of Pārśvanātha, the penultimate Jain *Tīrthankara*, built by king Nanna and completed at the town of Dostaṭikā (identified with Dottādī between Vadvān and Gīrnar) in the temple of Śāntinātha, the 16th Jain *Tīrthankara*. It should be pointed out, in this connexion, that at the same town of Vardhamāna, Hariṣena composed his *Kathākośa* in Śaka 853, corresponding to 925 A D.** We propose to identify this Vardhamāna with the town of the same name mentioned several

1 Since Jinasena has himself mentioned (I 40) an earlier Jinasena, who was a disciple of Virasena and afterwards composed his *Ādipurāṇa* we are compelled to call our author 'Jinasena II' [There is some confusion in the tradition —Ed]

*[Kanauj is not mentioned in the verse —Ed]

2 See *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (ed R. C. Majumdar), pp. 21ff, 101 [Varāha or Jayavarāha of the Saurya-maṇḍala does not appear to be known from any inscription —Ed]

**[There is some inaccuracy.—Ed]

times in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* ³ Tawney, the well known translator of this famous poem of Somadeva, had wrongly identified this town with Burdwan in Bengal, ⁴ although Barnett had doubts regarding this identification ⁵ From a story of that work, ⁶ we learn that the Brāhmaṇa youth Śaktideva reached the Vindhya forest after journeying southwards from the city of Vardhamāna—

evam kṛta-pratiññāḥ sa Vardhamānapurāt=tatah|

dakṣiṇām diśam=ālambya sa prastathe tadā dvijah||

kramena gacchamś=ca prāpa so='tha Vindhya-mahāṭavīm||

This shows that the town of Vardhamāna was to the north of the Vindhya which agrees more with the present position of Vadvān in Gujarat than Burdwan of West Bengal* The same town is also mentioned as the place where Lavaṇaprasāda, king of Gujarat, built a temple of Kumāra in the year 1253 A.D. ⁷

savidhe Vardhamāna[sya] sparidhamānam payodhinā|

adhahkṛta-sudhāsāram yah Kumāram=akārayat||

The epithet *kārtasvar-āpūrṇa-jan-ādhivāsa* applied to this town in the *Kathākośa* ⁸ of Hariṣena shows that the city enjoyed a great deal of prosperity during the mediaeval period. In the *Harivamśa* ⁹ also Vardhamāna gets the adjective *vipula-srī* (*kalyāṇaḥ parivardhamāna-vipula-śrī-Vardhamāne pure*)

³ See Tawney and Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol II, pp 171, 188, 189, 223, 224, 237, Vol III, pp 218, 229, 230, 282, Vol IX, pp 53, 75 [The identification is uncertain —Ed]

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol II, p. 171, note 1. [This is 'uncertain', but not 'wrong' —Ed]

⁵ *Loc cit*

⁶ Ed Durgadas and Parab, 25 5-6.

*[Since Vadvān or Vadvhān lies in the Kathiawar region of Gujarat, it is no more to the north of the Vindhyas than Burdwan in West Bengal 'Vindhya' is the name applied to mountain ranges running from Gujarat to Bengal There are, however, too many Vardhamānas in North India —Ed]

⁷ *Ep. Ind*, Vol I, p. 23

⁸ See P L Jain's *Prastāvanā* (in Hindi) in this edition of the *Harivamśa*, p 4.

⁹ 66.53

The first thing that strikes a reader of the *Harivamśa* is its similarity with the *Kathāsaritsāgara* which, as we know, is a Sanskrit translation of the now-lost *Bṛhatkathā*¹⁰. The romantic exploits of Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa, will invariably remind one of those of Naravāhanadatta in Somadeva's translation. Some of the heroines of Jinasena II like Aṅgāravatī, Vegavatī, Bandhumatī, Padmāvatī, Kaliṅgasenā, etc., also occur in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The enemy of the amorous Vasudeva in the *Harivamśa* is a Vidyādhara named Mānasavega whose name occurs prominently in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The only difference between Somadeva and Jinasena II is that the latter describes in a few lines what the former would say in a few hundred verses. We have little doubt that the author of the *Harivamśa Purāṇa* had before him the original Pāṣāṇī version of Guṇādhya, which was probably composed in the early centuries of the Christian era.

But it has to be remembered that the successful romantic adventures of Vasudeva cover only a portion of Jinasena's very considerable work which runs to as many as 66 chapters. He has described in greater details the achievements of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and there is very little doubt that, in doing so, he has more or less followed the well-known Vaiṣṇava *Harivamśa*, believed to be an integral part of the *Mahābhārata*. The description of Dvārakā (Ch. 41), the death of Kāṁsa at Kṛṣṇa's hands (Ch. 36) and the wrestling bout of Kṛṣṇa and his brother with Cānūra and Muṣṭika (Ch. 36) are all taken from the Vaiṣṇava *Harivamśa*. The destruction of the Vṛṣṇis and the last days of Kṛṣṇa and his brother too are the same as given in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Jinasena II,

10 In this connexion we reproduce below the following *śloka* from Somadeva (I 10)—

yathā mūlam tathā=ay=aitan=na manāg=apy=atīkramaḥ|

grantha-vistara-samkṣepa-mātram bhāṣā ca bhidyate||

See also in this connexion the Sanskrit introduction of Durgadas and Parab to their edition of this work, p. 1, note [But the claim that the entire *Kathāsaritsāgara* is an exact translation of Guṇādhya's work is absurd.—Ed.]

however, follows the tradition preserved in the Jātakas¹¹ and the *Arthaśāstra*¹² according to which the Vṛṣṇis were destroyed because they were cursed by the sage Dvaipāyana. The *Mahābhārata*¹³ and the major Purānas, on the other hand, give the names of some other *munis* (viz, Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada) as having cursed the Vṛṣṇis.

Although the author of the Jain *Harivamśa* has followed the story of Kṛṣṇa as preserved in the Vaiṣṇava *Harivamśa*, it has to be said that he has not blindly imitated the latter work in respect of language. Even when he borrows his materials from earlier works, he gives ample evidence of his fine poetical power. In this connexion, we can refer to the magnificent description of Rājagṛha in Chapter 3, the city being also called Pañcaśailapura because it is surrounded by five hills (3.52). For this information, Jinasena II is apparently indebted to the earlier work¹⁴ *Tiloyapannattī* by Yativṛṣabha (Jadivasaha), which gives the name Pamcaselanayara¹⁵ (i.e. Pañcaśailanagara) for Rājagṛha. Although a staunch Jain, our poet seldom lets off an opportunity to describe a love scene.

We are reproducing below a few lines from the 23rd chapter (verses 19-21)—

*paribhramya ciram śobhām paśyantau trpti-varjita/
gireḥ sānuṣu ramyeṣu ramramyete sma sasmarau//
tayoh sambhoga-sambhārah puṣpa-pallava-kalpita/
talpe' = nalpo' = pi khedāya samajāyata no tadā//*

11 Nos 454 and 530, cf. also the following verse (No 530, Cowell's tran, Vol V, pp 55-56)—

*Kaṇhadīpāyanāsajja isirā Andhakaveṇḍayo/
aññoññaṁ musalā hantvā sampattā Yama-sāadhanam//*

Nalanda ed, Vol II, p 66.

12 Pandit Puskalay ed, p. 18

13 XVI 1 15

14 This work was, in all probability, composed in the first half of the 7th century A.D. See Introd (ed H. L. Jain and A. N. Upadhye), Part II, pp. 4ff (English), pp 9ff (Hindi).

15 I 65.

*cirena rati-sambhoga-sambhūta-sveda-bhūṣṭau/
niṣkrāntau kadali-gehāt=tau raktākta-vilocanau//*

The same chapter also contains the following *śloka* (verse 153) .

*rahasya-kṛta-vaksasā ghana-payodhar-otpīdanam
cucumba sa-kaca-graḥaṁ jaghanam=ājaghān=ādharām/
dadamśa nṛvaro varah sa-nakha-pātam=asyā
vadhūr=viveda madan-āturā na ca tathāvidham bādhanam//*

His description of the beauty of queen Marudevī (Ch 8) or his delineation of the autumn (16 22ff) also proves his worth as a poet. Sometimes, like Kālidāsa, he can be devastatingly romantic, as for example, in the description of the longing of king Sumukha of Kauśāmbī (14 32ff) for the wife of a merchant called Vanamālā¹⁶ Here for the first time, the poet Jinasena gets the upper hand over the Jain disciplinarian Jinasena. He not only makes Sumukha a successful lover of a *parastrī*, but even allows him to marry her. It is something which even liberal Jains will look upon as outrageous and can only be described by a poet like Somadeva. But since this Sumukha is an admirer of the Jains, all his sins are readily forgiven and forgotten !

Our poet has sometimes deliberately distorted epic or Purāṇic accounts or has given a new version. As for example, in Jinasena's account, Kicaka is punished and not killed by Bhīma. The former, we are told, after his defeat by Bhīma, turned into a Jain ascetic (56 37 ff). Jarāsandha's killer, according to Jinasena II, was Kṛṣṇa and not Bhīma (59 80 ff). Draupadī's *svayamvara* is mentioned, but she is represented as the daughter of the king of Mākandī, and instead of Jayadratha, her kidnapper here is a demon named Padma-nābha (Ch 54). She is ultimately rescued not by Bhīma, but by Kṛṣṇa himself. The latter, however, is represented as having become disgusted with the Pāṇdavas in the long run. Because of Kṛṣṇa's opposition, the Pāṇdavas were forced to leave Hastināpura and had to settle in Mathurā of the South

16 A few such stories are found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

(54-73) which is elsewhere described as a town in the Pallava territory (64-1). This shows that during Jinasena's time, i.e. in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D., Madura, which was previously held by the Pāndyas, passed into the hands of the Pallavas. And we should note that Jinasena II was a contemporary of the famous Pallava king Nandivarman II Pallavamalla who ruled for at least about 65 years.¹⁷ Jinasena's evidence shows that at least for a few years, in the last quarter of the 8th century, the region around Madura was captured by the Pallavas from the Pāndyas who were the natural enemies of the Pallavas.*

Interestingly enough, the poet of the Jain *Harivamśa* makes Jarā (called Jaratkumāra) a brother of Kṛṣṇa and a son of Vasudeva (62-38-39). Probably the idea of a *vyādha* killing one of the *Trīṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣas* was difficult for our poet to stomach and that is why he has painted Kṛṣṇa's killer as an aristocrat.**

Jinasena II speaks of one Andhakavṛṣṇi¹⁸ as the son of Śūra and he is represented as the father of the following ten sons—Samudravijaya, Akṣobhya, Stimitasāgara, Himavat, Vijaya, Acala, Dhārana, Pūrana, Abhicandra and Vasudeva. The name Andhakavṛṣṇi is the Sanskrit form of Pāli *Andhakavenhu* found in the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* (No. 454), who too is represented as the father of ten sons including Vāsudeva. The names of Andhakavenhu's sons are quite different in that Jātaka, they are—Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Candadeva, Suriyadeva, Aggideva, Varunadeva, Ajjuna, Pajjuna, Ghaṭa-paṇḍita and Amkura. There is absolutely no doubt that most of the names of the two lists are fanciful. What is of interest to note is the name Andhakavṛṣṇi which actually represents the two principal Yādava tribes, viz. Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi***

17 See *The Classical Age* (ed. R. C. Majumdar), pp. 262f.

*[There seems to be no truth in Jinasena's statement.—Ed.]

**[The purpose was the distortion of the Brāhmaṇical account, which the Jain and Buddhist authors enjoyed.—Ed.]

18 18-12-14

***[According to the Purāṇas, the progenitors of these two clans were Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi who were the sons of Sātvata of the Yadu tribe.—Ed.]

The genealogy of some of the kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties given by Jinasena II, like Somadeva, is fanciful. Instead of Parīkṣit, we are told, one Āryasūnu succeeded Yudhiṣṭhira on the throne of Hastināpura. In this connexion, it should be pointed out that the Vaisnava *Harivamśa*¹⁹ also gives a curious list of Janamejaya's successors. But it should be remembered that this list occurs in the Bhaviṣya-parvan of the *Harivamśa*, undoubtedly a later addition to that work. According to the fanciful list of Janamejaya's successors in Somadeva's translation,²⁰ Udayana, a contemporary of the Buddha, was separated from Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu, by three generations (viz. Śatānika, Sahasrānika and Udayana) only. This not only goes against the epic and Purāṇic lists, but also against all the known lists of Janamejaya's successors. It is a matter of regret that a historian like Raychaudhuri²¹ should take this list seriously. As a matter of fact, Raychaudhuri's attempt at reconstructing the pre-Bimbisārid political history of India is a disaster as he is obsessed with the Müllerian 1500 B. C. Aryan invasion theory, and that is why he was prepared to accept a comparatively late date for Parīkṣit and his son.²²

For the student of Indology the most important section of the Jain *Harivamśa* is that which deals with geography

19 III, Ch. 1

20 See *Kathā*, 9.6.69. See also Tawney and Penzer, *op cit*, Vol. I, pp. 94ff.

21 *PHAI* (6th ed.), pp. 32f.

22 He would even assign Janaka, the father of Sītā, to the 7th century B. C. (see *ibid*, p. 52) which would make Rāma's father-in-law an older contemporary of Śuddhodana. [We are inclined to agree with Raychaudhuri in attaching importance to the traditions in Vedic literature and would attach little or no importance to Epico-purāṇic myths (cf. *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies*, 18ff, 105ff). The Aryan advent into India in the middle of the second millennium B. C. has been sought to be supported by the discoveries at Boghaz-koi, Mohenjodaro, Harappa and other places.—Ed.]

And here we get some new information not found in other works. Very important is the occurrence of the name *Karnasuvarna* in a verse (52-90) which runs as follows—

tat=suvarn-ākṣaram yatra karna-kundalam=atyājat/

Karnah Karnasuvarn-ākhyam sthānam tat=kīrtitam janaiḥ//

Prof S R Das informs us that a similar legend regarding the origin of this town, is current among the local people. This is the only reference to this city in Indian literature, it being previously known from the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman²³ and Hiuen-tsang's accounts²⁴. Bāna calls Śaśānka lord of Gauda, but does not mention Karnasuvarna.

In Chapter 11, there is a detailed list of peoples of India (verses 64-75). The author has divided the whole country in seven different parts, viz. Centre (Madhyadeśa), North, East, South, West, Vindhya region, and the seventh and last under the heading *Madhyadeśāśritāḥ* (dependencies of Madhyadeśa). Since Jinasena's list is almost unknown, we are reproducing it below.

- (1) *Madhyadeśa*—Kurujāngala, Pañcāla, Śūrasena, Paṭaccara, Tulinga, Kāśī, Kauśalya, Madrakāra, Vṛkārthaka, Sālva, Āvṛṣṭa, Trigarta, Kuśāgra, Matsya, Kunīyān, Kośala and Moka
- (2) *North*—Bāhlika, Ātreya, Kāmboja, Yavana, Ābhīra, Mādraka, Kvāthatoya, Śūra, Vāṭavāna, Kaikaya, Gāndhāra, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Bhāradvāja, Daśeruka, Prāsthāla, Tīrnakarṇa
- (3) *East*—Khadga, Angāraka, Paundra, Malla, Pravaka, Mastaka, Prādyotiṣa (Prāggyotiṣa), Vanga, Magadhā, Mānavartika, Malada, Bhārgava
- (4) *South*—Bānamukta, Vaidarbha, Mānava, Sakakāpīra, Mūlaka, Aśmaka, Dāṇḍika, Kalinga, Āmsika, Kuntala, Navarāṣṭra, Māhiṣaka, Puruṣa, Bhogavardhana
- (5) *West*—Mālya, Kallivanopānta, Durga, Sūrpāra, Karbūka, Kākṣī, Nāsārika, Āgarta, Sārasvata, Tāpasa,

23 See *Ep Ind*, Vol XII, pp 73ff, XIX, pp 15ff, 245ff

24 Ed Watters [sic—Ed], Vol II, pp 191ff

Māhebbha, Bharukaccha, Surāstra, Narmada

(6) *Vindhyaprsthānīvāsanah*—Daśārṇaka, Kiṣkandha, Tripura, Āvarta, Naisadha, Nepāla, Uttamavarṇa, Vaidiśa, Antapa, Kauśala, Pattana, Vinihātra

(7) *Madhyadeśāśritāh*—Bhadra, Vatsa, Videha, Kuśa, Bhanga, Saitava, Vajrakhandika *

The most significant name of the entire list according to our opinion, is *Khadga*. The Khadgas are known from two inscriptions found from South-East Bengal or ancient Samatata.²⁵ The first found from Ashrafpur has been assigned to the 7th century A.D.²⁶ although some scholars suggest a much later date.²⁷ According to Bhattasali, the palaeography of these plates is older than the early Pāla inscriptions.²⁸ The Ashrafpur plates contain a date which has been variously read as 73 or 79 and the majority of scholars feel that the date belongs to the Harsa era (606 A.D.).** If this view be accepted,

*[This list is almost wholly based on the Purāṇic lists of *janapadas* which are full of wrong readings. See also the author's remarks below. The peculiar names in the *Harivaṃśa* are mostly due to such mistakes ; e.g. Tuliṅga=Bhuliṅga, Vṛkārthaka=Vṛk-Āndhaka, Āvrṣṭa=Āvanta, Kusāgra=Kuntī, Kuṇṇiyan=Kulya, Moka=Mūka (Vṛka), Kvāthatoya=Kālaloṇya, Vāṭavāna=Vāṭadhāna, Daśeruka=Daseraka, Prāstnāla=Prathala, Bāpamukta=Vanavāsaka, Aṅgāraka=Aṅgeyaka, Pravaka=Pravanga, Mastaka=Mallaka, Dāṇḍika=Daṇḍaka, Āmsika=Aṣika, Puruṣa=Paurika, Mālya=Puleya, Kallivanopānta=Kolavana, Karbūka=Arbuda, Nāsārika=Nāsikya, Āgarta=Ānarta, Māhebbha=Māheya, Āvarta=Ānarta, Uttamavarṇa=Uttamārṇa, Antapa=Anūpa, Vinihātra=Viṭihotra, etc. See Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 1971, pp. 70ff and notes.—Ed.]

25 *MASB*, Vol. I, pp. 85ff, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 357-59. [It may be a variant of the name given variously in the Purāṇas as Aṅga, Adhra, Abhra Andhra.—Ed.]

26 See B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 277-81.

27 See R. D. Banerji, *JASB* (NS), Vol. XIX, pp. 375-79 ; see also *Vāṅgālār Itihās*, p. 233. [Banerji is certainly wrong.—Ed.]

28 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 358.

*[Both the Ashrafpur copper-plate grants were issued in the Khadga king's 13th regnal year. There is no possibility of the use of the Harṣa era in the region in question.—Ed.]

then we have to assign the Ashrafpur plates either to 679 or to 685 A D. The Ashrafpur plates contain the names of a few Khadga kings beginning from Khadgodyama and ending with Rājarājabhaṭṭa. The latter has been identified with Rājabhaṭṭa mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (671 A.D.)²⁹ The second inscription of the Khadgas, viz the Śarvāni image inscription, also discloses the names of the kings mentioned in the Ashrafpur plates. We do not know exactly at what time Khadga rule in Samataṭa terminated, but Jinasena's reference proves that they continued to maintain a separate existence till 783 A D.

The Mallas, referred to like the Khadgas as an eastern people, may be identified with the Mallas of the Mahābodhi region referred to in an inscription of Dharmapāla's 26th year (*Mallānām Mahābodhi-nivāsīnām*)³⁰ We must remember in this connexion that Jinasena II was a contemporary of Indrāyudha who was later dethroned by Dharmapāla. So there is no real difficulty in identifying Jinasena's Mallas with the Mallas referred to in Dharmapāla's inscription mentioned above*. In the *Ādipurāna*³¹ of Jinasena I, a work probably composed³² sometime after the *Harivaṃśa Purāna*, there is reference to Malladeśa which is placed immediately after Kīrāta-viṣaya. The Mallas are, however, repeatedly referred to in the ancient texts including the Buddhist, epic and Purāṇic works³³. From pre-Buddhist times, they were divided into two peoples, viz the Malla proper and Dakṣiṇa-Malla³⁴. Probably the Mallas,

29 Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, Intro, pp xxv, xl, see also Sen, *op cit*, p 80

30 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 31-32

*[The name was borrowed from the Purāṇic list of eastern peoples. See p 108, note above and the author's remarks below, p 110 and notes.—Ed.]

31 Ed P L Jain, 29 48

32 See P L Jain, *op cit*, p 8, see also the Introd in Hindi by the same scholar in his edition of the *Ādipurāna*, p 34,

33 See Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp 126f., *Kuṣa Jātaka* (No 531), *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, pp 136ff, 161-62

34 See *Mahābhārata*, II 30. 3, 12

referred in the above-mentioned inscription of Dharmapāla, were later descendants of the Mallas of the *Mahābhārata* and early Buddhist texts

A glance over the list of the *Harivaṃsa* would show that a great many names are traditional. But there are quite a few which are absent in the earlier or later lists. We have already mentioned the Khadgas whose existence were previously known only from two Bengal inscriptions. We have carefully compared this list with Sircar's exhaustive list of ancient Indian peoples given in his *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, published in 1967, and have found the following names of Jinasena II missing in his list viz —Tulīṅga (who, however, may be identified with Bhulīṅga or Tilinga of Sircar's list),³⁵ Āvṛṣṭa, Kusāgra Kuniyān, Kvāthatoya, Śūra (may be a mistake for 'Śūdra'),³⁶ Pravaka (probably a variant of 'Pravaṅga'),³⁷ Mastaka, Mānavartika (may be the same as Mallavartaka),³⁸ Bānamukta, Mānava, Sakakāpīra, Āmsika,³⁹ Puruṣa (probably the same as Puru-sāda),⁴⁰ Mālya, Kallivanopānta, Karbūka, Kāksi, Āgarta,⁴¹ Tāpasa,⁴² Māhebhā,⁴³ Uttamavarṇa,⁴⁴ Antapa,⁴⁵ Pattana, Bhaṅga, Saitava and Vajrakhandika.

Among the peoples which cannot even be remotely connected with those of Sircar's list the most significant is Bānamukta. We propose to identify them with the Bānas, a well known South Indian people who played an important role in the political affairs of the South for quite a few centuries.⁴⁶

35 *Op cit.*, p 73

36 *Loc cit*

37 See Sircar, *op cit* , p 77

38 *Loc cit*

39 Probably they are the same as Aṣika (Sircar, *op. cit* , p. 79).

40 *Ibid* , p. 64

41 It may be a mistake for Ānarta

42 They may be identified with Tāmasa of Sircar's list (p. 80).

43 It is a mistake for Māheya (*loc cit*)

44 It is probably a variant of Uttamarṇa (*loc cit*).

45 It may be a mistake for Anūpa.

46 See *The Classical Age*, ed Majumdar, pp 273-74

Since Jinasena II was a Westerner, the names like Mālya, Kallivanopānta, Karbūka, and Kāksī, assume a special significance as they are not found in the previous lists. It is reasonable to suppose that these peoples were contemporaneous with our author *

Among the Madhyadeśa peoples mentioned by Jinasena II, we have the interesting name Moka. It is the variant of Maga, the Sun-worshippers mentioned by Varāhamihira (Ch. 59). Ptolemy's reference to Brachmanoi Magoi⁴⁷ proves that the earliest wave of the Persian Sun-worshippers had reached India by the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. Since our author places them in Madhyadeśa, it is reasonable to suppose that there grew up slowly a permanent settlement of Zoroastrians in the interior of India.

While enumerating the peoples of the South, the author of the *Harivamśa* has not cared to mention peoples living in the Far South. Not a single people living to the South of the Kāverī has been mentioned. Among the northern peoples, a very significant omission is Kāśmīra. This is surprising because the Kāśmīra people under the Kārkoṭa rulers became famous before 783 A.D., the date of the composition of the present work. Among the peoples who are described as *Vindhya-prṣṭha-nivāsanah*, we get the name 'Kīṣkandha' whom we propose to identify with the people living in ancient Kīṣkindhā now in the Bhomat District, Rajasthan. The Kīṣkindhā-rāṣṭra of Varāhamihira has been identified by Sircar⁴⁸ with this Kīṣkindhā, which was the capital of a branch of the Guhila dynasty which rose to power in the 7th century A.D.⁴⁹ If we remember the date of Jinasena II, it will not be difficult to account for the mention of Kīṣkandha as a people in his work. Jinasena, however, has inadvertently included the Nepālas as living on the Vindhyas. Some of the

*[As stated above, their peculiarity is due to wrong reading —Ed.]

47 See Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 375 [See above, p. 108, note —Ed.]

48 See his *The Guhilas of Kīṣkindhā*, p. 34, note.

49 See also *ibid*, pp. 60ff.

names given by him are traditional, as for example, the Kuru-jāngalas of epic fame, who could not have maintained their existence as late as the 8th century A D ⁵⁰

Elsewhere in the same chapter (11 30-53), Jinasena has referred to the Mlecchas living near the mouth of the Indus. We must remember that the conquest of a large part of Sind by the Muslims was completed by the time our poet wrote his work (i.e. 783 A.D.) There is little doubt, therefore, that he has referred to the Arab Muslims settled near the Indus. But the first ancient Indian writer referring to the Muslims is Raviṣena who completed his famous Jain life of Rāma, entitled *Padma Purāna*, in 675 A D. The relevant verse (27 14) of that work runs—

*Āryadeśāḥ paridhvastā Mlecchair = udvāsitam jagat/
ekavarnām prajāṃ sarvām pāpāḥ kartum samudyatāḥ||*

50 [Kuru is mentioned in medieval inscriptions like the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla and the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga —Ed] We take this opportunity to reproduce an earlier list of peoples, viz., that given in the *Padma Purāna* of Raviṣena (675 A D), another Jain classic—Suhma, Aṅga, Magadha, Vaṅga, Podana, Lokākṣanagara, Lampāka-viṣaya, Bhāṣakuntala, Kālāmbu, Nandin, Nandana, Simhala, Śalabha, Anala, Caula, Bhīma, Bhūtarava, Purakheṭa, Maṭamba, Bhīru, Yavana, Kakṣa, Cāru, Trijaṭa, Naṭa, Śaka, Kerala, Nepāla, Mālava, Ārula, Śarvara, Vṛṣāna, Vaidya-Kāśmīra, Hīḍimba, Avaṣṭa, Barbara, Trisira, Pāraśaila, Gauśīla, Uśīnara, Sūryāraka, Sanarta, Khaśa, Vindhya, Śikhāpada, Mekhala, Śūrasena, Bāhlika, Ulūka, Kosala, Darī, Gāndhāra, Sauvīra, Purī, Kauvera, Kohara, Andhra, Kāla, Kalinga (101.69, 77-79, 81-84). [Here also there are many mistakes—Vaidya=Caidya, Sūryāraka=Sūrpāraka, Sanarta=Ānarta, Mekhala=Mekala, etc.—Ed] Another list given in the *Ādipurāna* of Jinasena I, a work completed a few years after the *Harivamsa* is also reproduced below—Sukosala, Avantī, Puṇḍra, Aśmaka, Ramyaka, Kuru, Kāsī, Kālīṅga, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Samudraka, Kāśmīra, Uśīnara, Ānarta, Vatsa, Pañcāla, Mālava, Dasārṇa, Kaccha, Magadha, Vīdarbha, Kuru-jāṅgala, Karahāṭa, Mahārāṣṭra, Surāṣṭra, Ābhīra, Koṅkaṇa, Vana-vāsa, Āndhra, Karnāṭa, Kosala, Cola, Kerala, Dārvābhīsāra, Sauvīra, Śūrasena, Aparāntaka, Videha, Sindhu, Gāndhārā, Yavana, Cedi, Pallava, Kāmboja, Āraṭṭa, Vālbhika, Turaṣka, Śaka, Kekaya, (16 152-6). Names of a few other peoples mentioned elsewhere of the same work are—Madra, Gauḍa (29 41), Trikalīṅga (29 79), Pāṇḍya, Antara-Pāṇḍya, Kūṭa, Olikā, Mahiṣa, Punnāga, Prātana, Kamekura (29 79-80).

The above verse shows that Raviṣena heard about the Muslims or knew them personally. The first Muslim invasion of India took place as early as 637 A.D., and between that date and the date of the composition of *Padma Purāna*, i.e. 675 A.D., quite a few Arab raids have been recorded by Muslim chroniclers. So it is not surprising that a West Indian writer should refer to them in a work written in 675 A.D. The expression—*ekavarnām prajām sarvām pāpāh kartum samudyatāh* shows that Raviṣena had the Muslims in mind when he wrote that verse⁵¹. There is another verse in the same chapter (No 72) of the *Padma Purāna* which throws more light on the Arab invaders of those days. The verse runs—

*nirdayāh paśumāmsādā mūdhāh prāṇi-vadh-odyatāh/
ārabhya janmanah pāpāh sahas-ārambha-kārīnah//*

The verse expresses the character of early Muslim invaders who had no sympathy or respect for non-Muslims. Wherever they went, they carried destruction with them. Non-Muslims were forcibly converted or murdered, their temples were either razed to the ground or converted into mosques, and their women were raped and dishonoured. Raviṣena further describes them as wearing a red head-dress (*rakta-vastra-śiras-trāṇāh*⁵²) which is actually the colour of the fez worn by the Muslims.

Besides referring to the Muslims, Jinasena II also gives some other information of historical nature. As early as 1886, B. A. Pathak in the *Indian Antiquary*⁵³ had drawn the attention of scholars to the duration of Gupta rule as recorded by the author of the *Harivamśa*. According to the edition of P. L. Jain published in 1962, the Gupta rule lasted for 221 years (*Guptānām ca śata-dvayam = ekavimśaś = ca varṣāṃ kālavidbhir = udāhṛtaṃ*)⁵⁴. But in the manuscript seen by Pathak, instead

51 For further details, see 27 52ff

52 27 67

53 Vol XV, pp 141-43

54 60 491

of *ekavimśa*, it is *ekatrimśa* ⁵⁵ If we accept Pathak's reading as correct, then we must accept the fact that Gupta rule in North India ended in 550-51 A.D. This date agrees with what is given in an earlier Jain work entitled *Tiloyapannattī* of Yativrsabha (Jadivasaha) which was probably composed in the first half of the 7th century A.D. The relevant line there runs thus—

tato Guttā tānam rajje donni ya sayāni igitīsā ⁵⁶

But the same work offers another date for Gupta rule in the same chapter. The relevant words run—*donni sadā panavannā Guttānam* (4 1504) which means that the Guptas ruled for 255 years. But it is difficult to believe that the rule of the Imperial Guptas lasted upto 575 (320+255) A.D. The latest record which refers to a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Gupta ruler is the Damodarpur copper plate of the Gupta year 224. After this date no Imperial Gupta ruler is known to have assumed such titles. Therefore, year 231 is a more acceptable date than 255 or 221. * Fleet in his editorial note on Pathak's paper, observes 'Jinasena has hit off pretty accurately the duration of the Gupta power' ⁵⁷

Some other chronological information given by the author of the *Harivamśa* is probably based on the *Tiloyapannattī*. In both these works, we are told, that Puṣyamitra ruled for 30 years ⁵⁸ and Vasumitra and Agnimitra had a total rule of

⁵⁵ See Raychaudhuri in *PHAI* (6th ed.), pp. 626f. Raychaudhuri is inclined to accept Pathak's reading.

⁵⁶ 4 1508

* The Gupta-rājya is represented as *vartamāna* in the Sumaṇḍala plate of the Gupta year 250 (569 A.D.) when Pṛthivīvigraha was governing the Kalinga-rāṣṭra. The tradition of the end of Gupta rule about the Gupta year 255 (574 A.D.) is correct in respect of Orissa since Pṛthivīvigraha's successor Lokavigraha issued his Kanas plate in the Gupta year 280 (599 A.D.) without any reference to Gupta rule. See *Jadunath Sarkar Vol.*, ed. Gupta, pp. 343ff., *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies*, ed. Sircar, pp. 147-48 —Ed.]

⁵⁷ *Ind Ant*, Vol. XV, p. 143

⁵⁸ *Hariv*, 60 489, *Tiloyapannattī*, 4 1507

60 years The evidence of the *Tiloyapannatti* and *Harivamśa* regarding Puṣyamitra is confirmed by Merutunga ⁵⁹

We have already mentioned the fact that, in the colophon of the *Harivamśa*, Jinasena has given the names of a few important contemporary rulers of *India* He has also mentioned the name of king Nanna, who built the temple of Pārśvanātha at Vardhamāna (66 53). This Nanna should be identified with *Mahārāja* Nanna (written Nanna) who is described in the Mankani inscription⁶⁰ as *Kaṭaccuri-kula-veśma-pradīpa* and is usually assigned to the second half of the 6th century A D The inscription discloses the names of Nanna's queen and son as Daddā and Taralasvāmin. Although Taralasvāmin is represented in that inscription as a Śaiva, his father Nanna, if Jinasena II is to be believed, was a devout Jain

Our author ridicules the caste-conscious Brāhmanas and poses the following question—⁶¹

*pāpa-pākena daurgatyam saugatyam punya-pākatah/
jīvānām jāyate tatra jāti-garvena kim vṛthā||*

In several stories he tries to show the superiority of the Jain ascetics over their Brāhmanical counterparts ⁶² He represents Kicaka⁶³ as embracing Jain religion after his defeat by Bhīma Even Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is depicted as a devotee of the Jain *Tīrthankara* Neminātha ⁶⁴ This is exactly what Raviṣena says in the *Padma Purāna* where all the principal characters of the *Rāmāyana* are represented as Jain devotees Jinasena's devastating criticism of Vindhyavāsini⁶⁵ must be noted in this connexion "Can a goddess who needs so many

59 See *Ind Ant*, 1914, pp 118f, see also Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p 391, note 1 [But the 90 years' rule ascribed to the three Śuṅga kings seems to be a fabrication of no value —Ed]

60 See *The Classical Age*, p 197

61 43 121

62 See specially the story of the chastisement of the Brāhmaṇa Soma-deva and his two sons by the Jain guru Nandivardhana (43 99ff)

63 56 37ff

64 62 57

65 See Ch 49, in this chapter, Jinasena tells a novel story regarding the origin of Vindhyavāsini

innocent victims", he asks, "bring salvation to the suffering soul?" His own attitude towards man and world is not far removed from the Vedantic approach. We are quoting below a few lines—⁶⁶

*jāyate = 'tra naṭasy = eva samsāre svāmi-bhṛtyayoh/
 pitr-putrakayor = mātṛ-bhāryayoś = ca viparyayah//
 ghaṭīyantra-ghaṭī-jāle jaṭile kutile bhavē/
 uttarādharyam = āyānti jantavah satata-bhramāh//*

It is apparent from the *Harivamśa* that a majority of the enthusiastic supporters of the Jain religion belonged to the merchant class ⁶⁷ We have an interesting reference to a game of gambling in which Vasudeva is represented as having won one crore of *hiranyas*.⁶⁸ There is also a reference to the staging of a play called *Mahānanda* at Śauryapura.⁶⁹

Sometimes, even devout Jains did not hesitate to patronise Hindu gods. There is the story of a Jain merchant called Kāmadatta who built a temple of Kāmadeva (god of love) at Śrāvastī. There are some other references to the worship of Hindu gods. As for example, in 24 41-42, we are told of the Indra festival. There is a mention of the worship of the Nāga on the 8th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha.⁷⁰

In spite of the fact that Jinasena has indifference and contempt for the Hindu religion and specially for the Brāhmaṇas, he is not himself immune from the all-pervading influence of Hinduism. We have already referred to the story of Jain Kāmadatta. In the *śloka*s by which Indra offers tribute to Ṛṣabhanātha, the first *Tīrthaṅkara*, we can discern a distinct Vaiṣṇava influence.⁷¹ Even the term *bhakti* is used there.

66 43.126-27.

67 Cf. the cases of Sumitradatta (27 44), Kāmadatta (29.1ff), etc.

68 26 30.

69 See Ch. 39.

70 12 61ff.

71 See Ch. 8.

The author of the Jain *Harivamśa*, was not only a remarkable poet, but also a highly accomplished personality. His thorough knowledge of the science of music (19. 142-261) proves that he was an immensely cultured man. His *Harivamśa* is one of the most interesting literary creations of the early mediaeval Sanskrit literature.*

*[This paper was received about the close of 1972.—Ed.]

XII

JAINISM AND JAIN RELICS IN BIHAR*

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Bihar's contribution to Indian history and culture is remarkable. Of the sixteen Mahājanapadas or Great States that flourished in the different parts of India during the 6th century B C, at least three were situated in modern Bihar. These were the kingdoms of Magadha (Patna-Gaya region) and Anga (Monghyr-Bhagalpur region) and the Vṛjī-Licchavi republic in North-Bihar having its capital at Vaiśālī (modern Basādh in the Muzaffarpur District). During this period, Bihar was passing through an era of great religious enthusiasm. The Upanisadic Brāhmanas were laying down rules of life in the Dharmasūtras, Gautama the Buddha was preaching his doctrine of *Nirvāṇa* in Buddhism; and Mahāvīra Vardhamāna and Mankhaliputta Gosāla founded their respective sects of the Jains and Ājīvikas. Of these, Jainism is deeply rooted in Indian culture and is still a living religion of India, while Buddhism, though it has disappeared from the Indian sub-continent,** is even now a dominant force in the religious life of a large number of people of many of the countries of Asia, and the sect of the Ājīvikas has practically disappeared from history. To-day the followers of Jainism in Bihar are insignificant looking to their rich cultural heritage in this part the country.

Bihar was not only the centre of religious activities, but was also the birth place of Mahāvīra, the 24th and last Tirthankra who was the founder of the Jain Church. Mahāvīra was a scion of the Nāya or Nāta or Jñātr clan of Vaiśālī.¹

*[The article was received about the close of 1972. Ed.]

**[There are some Buddhists in the eastern fringe of the Indian sub-continent —Ed.]

¹ Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo* (Bib Ind), pp 3-6. For details see

He was born at Kuṇḍagrāma His father Siddhārtha was the Chief (*Kulapati*) of the said clan and his mother Triśalā, also called Vaidehī, Vedehadevī and Videhadattā, was the sister of king Ceṭaka of Vaiśālī. The Jain canonical works like the *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, *Kalpasūtra* and *Bhagavatīsūtra* preserve the accounts of Mahāvīra's life and they call him Videha, Vaidehadatta, Videhajātya and Videhasukumāra ² He was also called Jñātaputra, Nāmaputra,* Nayaputra or Nātaputra as his father belonged to the family of Nāya or Nāta or Jñatṛ clan In the Jain Sūtras, Mahāvīra is also called Vesālīe or Vaiśālīka (an inhabitant of Vaiśālī) ³

According to the *Kalpasūtra*, Mahāvīra lived for 72 years ⁴ He died at a place called Majjīmā Pāvā (modern Pāvāpurī in the Patna District) in the house of a ruler of the kingdom of Magadha ⁵

Mahāvīra spent 30 years of his life as a householder and, after the death of his parents, renounced the world and led a life of austerity and penance wandering in the forests and hilly tracts of South Bihar At first he joined the order of Pārśvanātha and, in the 13th year after his renunciation and initiation as an ascetic, attained supreme knowledge,

S Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp 21ff, *JRAS*, 1902, pp 282f, 286f, *CHI*, Vol I, p 173, Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, Part II (*SBE*, Vol XXII, Intro, pp x-xiii), B C Law, *Mahāvīra His Life and Teachings*, pp 19ff; Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p 62, *ASI, AR*, 1903-04, pp 81ff, C J Shah, *Jainism in North India*, pp 23ff, H L Jain, in *JRAS*, Vol XLV, p 4, P. C Roychoudhury, *Jainism in Bihar*, pp 1, 13ff, Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p 173, *Homage to Vaiśālī*, ed Mathur and Mishra, pp 4f, 76ff, 85ff, etc, also *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol VII, p 466

2 *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, 389, see also J C Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, pp 254, 355

[This seems to be based on a misreading —Ed.]

3 *Jaina Sūtras SBE*, Pt I, Intro, p xi

4 Bühler, *Indian Sect of the Jains*, p 27

5 Smith, *The Early History of India*, p 30, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p 414, *CHI*, Vol I, p 163, *Ind Ant*, 1914, p 177.

called Kevala-jñāna,⁶ seated under the shade of a *Sāl* tree on the bank of the river Rjupālikā at the village called Jṛmbha-kagrāma not very far from the Parasnath hills in the modern Hazaribagh District of Bihar. After this event, Mahāvīra's influence spread like wild fire in the countries of Videha, Anga and Magadha. Rājagṛha, Campā and Vaisālī were the chief cities of ancient Bihar and these were the strongholds of Jainism and favourite places of Mahāvīra.⁷ He spent three *pajjusanas* (rainy season retirement) at Campā, the capital of the Anga country, and its suburbs called Pṛstha-Campā, and two *pajjusanas* at Bhadrīka or Bhaddiyā in the same country. Mahāvīra also spent 12 *pajjusanas* at Vaiśālī⁸ and Vāṇīyagrāma⁹ in its suburbs, i.e. the modern village of Baniya, about 1½ miles to the north-west of Basādh. Another favourite resort of Mahāvīra in Bihar was Mithilā and it must have been a place of considerable importance for the Jains, for Mahāvīra spent as many as six monsoons there.¹⁰ In the city of Campā existed the temple called Puṇṇabhadrā *caitya*¹¹ where Mahāvīra resided, at the same place, Sudharman, who was one of the disciples of Mahāvīra and succeeded as the head of the Jain order after the death of the master, recited the *Uvāsagadasāo*, the seventh *anga* of the Jains, while it was governed by Kunika Ajātaśatru of Magadha. The temple is referred to in the *Ubhāisūtra* as Puṇyalabdha (or Puṇyatava) *caitya** Svayambhava, the fifth Patriarch of the Jain church, who succeeded Prabhava, lived at Campā where he composed, for his son Manaka, the *Daśavaikālikasūtra* containing the essence of all the sacred doctrines of Jainism, about the 4th century B.C.¹² Vāsupūjya,¹³ the 12th

6 Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 39, SBE, Vol. XXII, p. 263

7 Law, *Mahāvīra His Life and Teachings*, p. 7

8 Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, Pt. I, *Kalpasūtra*, Sec. 122.

9 *Āvaśyaka Nirukti*, 496. [Vāṇīya = Vāṇīja,—Ed.]

10 Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 42 [The city of Mithilā is located at Janakpur in the Nepalese Tarai—Ed.]

11 Hoernle's ed., p. 2, notes

*[Sic—Ed.]

12 JBORS, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 67ff

13 JPASB, Vol. X, 1914, p. 334, Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 44ff, C. J. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 26, note 5

Tirthankara of the Jains, lived and died in this city and the site of his birth and consecration is marked by a modern Digambara temple which lies in the western fringe of a huge mound called Karnagadh at Nāthnagar, supposed to be the ruins of the ancient city of Campā

According to the Jain tradition, the place Mahāvīra liked best was Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha. He spent fourteen rainy seasons at Rājagṛha and Nālandā. The former was not only an important centre of Jainism from the time of Mahāvīra, but was the birth place of Munisuvrata, one of the predecessors of Mahāvīra¹⁴. Both the Buddhists and Jains claim that kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru favoured their respective doctrines. Both kings figure prominently in the early Buddhist and Jain literature. Bimbisāra (c. 543-491 B.C.), king of Magadha, conquered the kingdom of Anga and placed it under prince Ajātaśatru as the Viceroy with Campā as his headquarters. In the *Aupapātikasūtra*,¹⁵ Ajātaśatru is represented as declaring his faith in Jainism and is described as often approaching Mahāvīra at Vaiśālī and Campā. Thus the age of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru is memorable in the history of Jainism in Bihar. Its echo is found in Jain literature which testifies to its greatness and general prosperity.

Udāyin (c. 452-443 B.C.), son of Ajātasatru (c. 491-452 B.C.) and the founder of the new city of Pāṭaliputra, was a devout Jain and a great patron of Jainism. According to the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*,¹⁶ he built a Jain temple at the centre of Pāṭaliputra. It appears that, during his reign, Jainism spread rapidly in Bihar, and Pāṭaliputra became one of the important centres of the Jains. The high status of the Jain monks was recognised and they had access to the king's palace. It is believed that Udāyin was murdered by a disguised Jain monk.

14 Jambusvāmī, a pupil of Sudharman, who was the spiritual leader of the Jains for 24 years, was also born at Rājagṛha. See Stevenson, *op cit*, p. 68. In the *Cūladukkhakhandhasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*, the Buddha says that once when he was staying at Rājagṛha on the Vulture Peak, there were a number of Niganthas (Jain ascetics) on the rocks on the slope of Mt. Isigili (Rṣigiri). See Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of Buddha*, Vol. I, London, 1926, p. 57.

15 *Aup Sū*, 12, 27, 30, *Ācā Sū*, pp. 684, 687.

16 *Parī Par*, VI. 34.

There is paucity of evidence to present a clear picture of the state of Jainism during Nanda rule in Bihar, but the removal of the image of the Jina from Kalinga to Pāṭaliputra by the Nanda king of Magadha, seems to suggest his faith in Jainism ¹⁷

That Jainism continued to be a popular faith of Bihar during the Mauryan period is known from the association of Candragupta Maurya with the Jains, his migration to Śravaṇa-Belgola (in Mysore) along with Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Jain Śrutakevalins, in c 300 B. C., and his death at the place as is generally accepted by scholars. Sthūlabhadra, one of the Jain patriarchs, is known to have convened a Jain council at Pāṭaliputra in the reign of this ruler to settle finally the canonical texts ¹⁸. Another interesting evidence of the existence of a Jain centre at Pāṭaliputra about the 4th century B.C. is supplied by a beautiful nude image (now in the Patna Museum) discovered at Lohanipur in Patna ¹⁹. The shining polish of the image shows that it belongs to the Mauryan age. ²⁰ According to Bhandarkar, Aśoka uses the term Samgha while speaking of the Buddhists alone, but *Śramana* while referring to the Jains as well. ²¹ Jainism continued to be a living faith during the time of Aśoka. Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, is believed to have been a Jain, being converted to the Śvetāmbara creed by Suhastin, and is said to have sent Jain missionaries to South India. He is said to have built numerous Jain temples ²².

17 See line 12 of the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela in Sircar, *Sel Ins.*, p. 217, *JBORS*, Vol III, 1917, pp 425, 472, Vol IV, 1918, pp 364ff

18 "It is quite in keeping with the tradition that there should be a temple of Sthūlabhadra in the city, which is located in Gulzarbagh ward", (Altekar and Mishra, *Rep. Kum. Exca.*, 1951-55, p 10).

19 U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jain Art*, Pt. I, fig 2

20 Other Jain relics of Mauryan Bihar are a number of caves in the Barābar and Nāgārjunī hills, dedicated by Asoka and Daśaratha to the Ājīvika sect whose leader, Mañkhaliputta Gosāla, was once a disciple and later a rival of Mahāvīra. See *Bhagavatīsūtra*, XV 547, 549; also Basham *History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas*, pp 60ff.

21 Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp 168ff [Sic—Ed.]

22 *Bṛhatkalpa-bhāṣya*, Vol. III, pp 917-21, Gāthās 3285-89

The continuity of Jainism at Pāṭaliputra in the 1st-2nd century A D is proved by the *Tattvārthasūtra* of Umāsvāti, which is held in esteem by both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jains and was composed in the city towards the beginning of the Christian era ²³ Jainism in this period appears to have attracted the Murundas of Patna The *Brhatkalpavṛtti* refers to a Murunda king of Pāṭaliputra, who was a pious Jain and whose widowed sister had also embraced the same faith ²⁴ The *Pādalipta-prabandha* of the *Prabhāvakacarita* relates the story how Pādalipta cured king Murunda of Pāṭaliputra of his terrible headache ²⁵

At the time of Hiuen-tsang's visit (629-645 A D), the cities of Pāṭaliputra and Vaiśālī were in ruins He refers to several hundred *Samghārāmas* at Vaiśālī, which were mostly dilapidated The followers of the Nirgranthas (Jain ascetics), he says, were numerous ²⁶ This seems to be the last definite evidence of the existence of Jainism in North Bihar No antiquity or inscription belonging to the subsequent periods have been found in North Bihar ²⁷

The city of Pāṭaliputra appears to have been destroyed about 50 years before Hiuen-tsang's visit According to a Jain work called *Tilthogali Paimniya*, king Caturmukha Kakli was persecuting the Jains, and their preceptors advised them to leave Pāṭaliputra,* he also predicted that

23 *Tattvārthasūtra*, Intro p 4, cf. Altekar and Mishra, *loc cit*

24 Altekar and Mishra, *op cit*, pp 10f

25 See Mohanlal Jhaveri, *Nirvānakalikā of Pādaliptācārya*, Intro, p 10, *Pādalipta-prabandha*, vv 44, 59-61, cf S Chattopadhyay, *Early History of North India*, p 144

26 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol II, 1934, p 66. The Jain tradition speaks of the existence of Jain shrines at Vaiśālī The *Uvāsagādasāo* refers to a Jain temple at Kollāga (modern Kolhua) bearing the name Duipalāsa. There was a *stūpa* at Vaiśālī dedicated to Munisuvrata See the *Āvaśyakacūṛṇi* of Jinadāsa (c 676 A D) pp. 223ff, 567.

27 Cf P. C Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions (Jaina-lekha-Samgraha)*, Vols. I-II, also Thakur, *op cit*, p 148

*[There are some errors here Probably *Tirthodgārīṣa* and Kalki are intended —Ed]

there would be catastrophe in the near future. Taking the hint of the forecast, a number of Jain monks left Pāṭaliputra, but some were still living there. Soon after unprecedented and continuous rains for 17 days in the month of Bhādrapada, the waters of the rivers Ganges and Son rose high and engulfed Pāṭaliputra from all sides. The latter was terrific and devastating and carried off several monks and laymen of the city by the force of the current of the water and only those who could get the support of wood or boat were saved.²⁸ This marks the last phase of Jainism at Pāṭaliputra. Although it was an important administrative centre during Pāla rule over Bihar and Bengal, the evidence of the existence of Jainism is lacking. The excavations at Pāṭaliputra yielded nothing of any Jain importance of this period.

Jainism suffered a set back during the Gupta-Pāla-Sena rule in Bihar and soon it completely faded out from North Bihar. Notwithstanding the formidable opposition from Brāhmanism and Buddhism which gained ascendancy during this period, it maintained its position, but remained confined to the hilly regions of South Bihar. No doubt the Muslim conquest gave the last blow to the tottering edifice of Jainism in Bihar, the subsequent periods witnessed a great revival of this faith and the activity of the Jains during this period was centred at places like Rājgir, Pāvāpurī, Bihārsharif, Kuluhā, Pārasnāth and Mandār hills.²⁹

We have seen above that the birth place of Mahāvīra, according to the Jain tradition, was Kundapura or Kuṇḍalapurā.³⁰ It was also called Khattīya-Kuṇḍaggāma (*Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, p. 243). Hoernle identified it with the modern village

28 Motichandra, in *Premī Abhinandana Grantha* (Hindi), pp. 230ff.

29 A large number of Jain inscriptions dated between Vikrama 1110 (1053 A.D.) and 1938 (1881 A.D.) engraved on stone slabs and images recording the installation of foot prints and images of the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras have been found at Rājgir.

30 *Tīrthakalpa*, Chaps. 14 and 21, pp. 8, 41, 282, 287, etc.; cf. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

of Vasukunda, about 3 miles to the north-east of Basādh (ancient Vaiśālī) in the Muzaffarpur District

It may be pointed out in this connection that sometime in 1890, V A Smith visited the village of Baniya and is said to have discovered two statues of the Jain Tirthankaras about 500 yards to the west of the village,³¹ but the images were untraceable at the time of Bloch's visit to the village ten years after the former. Thus Bloch writes, "It is a remarkable fact that the modern site of Vaiśālī, the traditional birth place of the last Tirthankara of the Jainas, Vardhamāna Mahāvira, is entirely devoid of any remains belonging to his religious order"³²

Strangely enough there is no archaeological evidence of the existence of old Jain remains in the locality of Vasukunda and it never became a place of pilgrimage for the Jains to rank it with the Pārasnāth hill and Pāvāpurī³³ Except for strong literary evidence, there is nothing to support that Vasukunda was the birth place of Mahāvira³⁴ Curiously enough, the Jains forgot their real tradition and the location of the birth place of their prophet

Rājgir, as we have seen above, was the chief centre of Jainism during the life time of Mahāvira According to both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara texts Vardhamāna Mahāvira spent the major part of his life at Rājgir, and his eleven chief disciples called *ganadharas* died there. 'In the preamble of many of the dialogues of Vardhamāna contained in the Śvetāmbara Jain canon, he is shown as living in the Guṇaśīla or Guṇa-

31 JRAS, 1902, p 149

32 ASI, AR, 1903-04, p 87, Thakur, *op cit*, p 99

33 The Śvetāmbara text *Tīrthamālācaityavandana* (17th century), which gives 76 names of the ancient Jain *tīrthas*, does not speak of Vaisālī or Kuṇḍapura (Thakur, *op cit*, p 149)

34 The Digambara Jains identify Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍalapura, the traditional birth place of Mahāvira, with Kuṇḍalpur near Nālandā in the Patna District (K Bhujabali Śāstri, in *Jain Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol 10, p 60) and the Śvetāmbaras with the village of Lachwād or Lachuār in the Monghyr District See Thakur, *op cit*, p 149.

śīlaka *caitya* outside the city of Rājagṛha to the north east of it'.³⁵ Hemacandra in his *Sthavīrāvalīkanta*³⁶ also speaks of Guṇśīla *caitya* in the neighbourhood of Rājagṛha as adorned with a *caitya* tree. Although memories of the place were always cherished in the Jain tradition connected with the activities of Mahāvīra, the earliest Jain remains of Rājgir belong to the pre-Gupta age. The Soṇabhāṇḍāra cave belongs to this period. There is an inscription there belonging to c. 1st of 2nd century A.D. The epigraph records that Muni Vairadeva,³⁷ a jewel among teachers and of great lustre, caused to be excavated two caves fit for the residence of Jain ascetics, with images of Arhats (Jains) installed therein.³⁸ Another cave, called 'Vaiṣṇava cave', seems also to be a rock-cut Jain shrine.

On the Vaibhāra hill at Rājgir, there is a ruined temple with a central chamber flanked on all sides by a row of cells containing Digambara images of the Gupta age.³⁹ In another chamber, there is a seated figure of Neminātha with a fragmentary inscription in Gupta characters referring to Candragupta, apparently Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty. This is the earliest Jain specimen assignable to a fairly accurate date. The pedestal of the image represents a conch shell flanked by the *dharmacakra* on either side. The interesting feature of the sculpture is the representation of a young prince, standing in front of a wheel which also serves the purpose of the halo. The prince seems to represent *Cakra-puruṣa*. Three standing figures of the Tirthankaras in other niches bear Kusāṇa art motifs showing stiffness of their

35 *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, II, 2, etc., cf. *ASI, AR*, 1925-26, p. 121. The site of Guṇasīla *caitya* lies in the village called Gunava, eleven miles to the south of Rājgir. The *Uttara Purāṇa*, a Digambara work by Guṇabhadra, who flourished in the south in the 9th century A.D., speaks of the Vipula hill at Rājgir as the permanent place of residence of Mahāvīra.

36 1. 29, cf. *ASI, AR*, 1925-26, p. 122.

37 *ASI, AR*, 1905-06, pp. 98, 166, *ibid*, 1936-37, p. 47, Pl. XII, c.

38 *Ibid*, 1925-26, pp. 125ff.; U. P. Shah, *op cit*, p. 14, fig. 18.

39 U. P. Shah, *loc cit*.

shoulders A fourfold (*caumukha*) Jain sculpture from the Sonabhāndāra cave and a figure of Ādinātha with the name of the monk Vasantanandin inscribed on the pedestal (in characters belonging to about the 8th century A.D.) discovered from the ruined brick shrine on the Vaibhāra hill, are typical examples of the Jain sculptures of Eastern India ⁴⁰

The Jain texts say that a *stūpa* was built at Pāvāpurī⁴¹ by the gods who came to attend the death of Mahāvīra and a temple was also erected there by king Nandivardhana. The place was visited by Buchanan, Franklin, Kittoe, Cunningham, Beglar, Broadley and others. Buchanan speaks of a group of temples around two courtyards in the village and refers to a number of inscriptions in them. The earliest of them is dated Vikrama 1605 (1548 A.D.) Bhandarkar's *List* (No 1003) includes only one inscription from Pāvāpurī, which is dated Vikrama 1697 (1640 A.D.) Another inscription of 1641 A.D., recording the restoration of the *tīrtha* and construction of a temple, is also reported to have been found there.⁴² The temple in the tank at Pāvāpurī, called Jalamandira, is obviously a modern one built after Buchanan's visit to the place, as his report contains no reference to it ⁴³.

Although no Jain antiquity of a date earlier than the 16th century has been found at Pāvāpurī, it had been a well established *tīrtha* by the fourteenth century. Madanakīrti (2nd quarter of the 13th century) refers to it (as endowed with

40 *Ibid*, p 17, fig 28. For details see *ASI, AR*, 1925-26, pp 125ff, 1930-34, p 165f, Pl CXXXVIII d, 1935-36, Pl XVII, I. A four-armed goddess from Nālandā probably representing the Jain Yakṣī Padmāvatī, assignable to the 9th or 10th century, is a unique work of art of the East Indian School (U P Shah, *op cit*, fig 41)

41 There is a difference of opinion about the location of Pāvā or Pāpā or Pāvāpurī. Some identifies it with Kasia in the Gorakhpur District, Uttar Pradesh. See Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p 251.

42 *IHQ*, Vol I, pp 116ff

43 For details about Pāvāpurī, see *Indian Culture*, Vol XIV, pp 125ff, Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya*, Vol I, pp 168f, *JASB*, 1847, p 955, *ibid*, 1872, p 955, *ibid*, 1872, pp 283f, *ASR*, Vol XI, pp. 170f, *ibid*, Vol. VIII, pp. 77ff, Patil, *op cit*, pp 121f

the image of Śrī-Jina) as one of the twenty-six *tīrthas* of the Jains of his time Jinaprabhasūri (1332 A D) also describes it in details.⁴⁴

In Bihar there are a number of places of Jain importance and the existence of old Jain shrines, caves temples, images, and inscriptions have been reported from places like Benu-sagar (Singhbhum District),⁴⁵ Charra,⁴⁶ Chechgaon,⁴⁷ Deoli,⁴⁸ Dulmi,⁴⁹ Pakbira,⁵⁰ Palma,⁵¹ Pavanpur,⁵² Suissa (Manbhum District, now Dhanbad District),⁵³ Kuluha⁵⁴ and Pārasnāth hills⁵⁵ (Hazaribagh District), Cheon,⁵⁶ Kauvakol⁵⁷ and Nakhaur (Gaya District),⁵⁸ Lachchuar⁵⁹ (Monghyr District), Dapthu⁶⁰ and Bihar⁶¹ (Patna District), Mandār

44 Thakur, *op cit* , p. 149.

45 ASR, Vol VIII, pp 69ff , BDG—Singhbhum, p. 38

46 ASI, AR, Bengal Circle, 1903, p 14 , JBORS, Vol V, p 283 ; Vol X, p 171 , ASR, Vol VIII, p 182

47 ASI, AR, Bengal Circle, 1903, p 14 ; ASR, Vol. VIII, pp 157ff , Patil, *op cit* , p 82

48 ASR, Vol Vol. VIII, pp 189f. , ASI, AR, Bengal Circle, 1903, p. 14

49 ASR, Vol VIII, pp 186ff , JASB, 1855, p 211 , *ibid* , 1886, pp 190ff. , ASI, AR, Bengal Circle, 1903, pp 14f.

50 ASR, Vol. VIII, pp. 193ff , PASB, 1865, p 66ff , ASI, AR, Bengal Circle, 1903-04, p. 14

51 ASI, AR, Bengal Circle, 1902-03, p 14 , Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol XVII, pp 298f , JBORS, Vol XXIII, p 429

52 BDG—Manbhum, pp. 266f

53 ASR, Vol. VIII, pp 190f

54 JASB, 1901, pp 31ff , *Ind. Ant* , Vol XXX, pp. 90ff , P. C Roychoudhury, *op cit* , pp 40ff

55 ASR, Vol XIII, p 73 , ASI, AR Bengal Circle, 1902-03, p 13 , BODG—Hazaribagh, pp 202ff , Hunter, *op. cit* , Vol. XVI, pp 216ff

56 ASR, Vol VIII, p 63 : Grierson, *Notes on the District of Gaya*, p 46 , ASI, AR, Bengal Circle, 1902, p. 14.

57 BDG—Gaya, p 232

58 Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya*, Vol I, pp 167f

59 ASI, AR, 1903, p 11 , BODG—Monghyr, pp 210, 228.

60 Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya*, Vol I, pp 236ff , ASR, Vol. VIII, p. 74 , JASB, 1872, pp. 256ff ; Grierson, *op. cit* , p 44

61 *Ind. Ant* , Vol XXXI, p. 69.

hill⁶² (Bhagalpur District), etc. The Pārasnāth hill, named after Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthankara, who lived and died there, is the highest mountain in South Bihar. Beglar refers to an old Jain temple on the northern slope of the hill called Madhuban and says that it contains numerous sculptured stones of the ancient period.⁶³ Bloch, however, says that the oldest remains he saw were a number of foot-prints of various Jain Tīrthankaras, which had been consecrated on the 9th February, 1969.⁶⁴ On the summit of the hill is the main temple enshrining the foot-prints of Pārśvanātha consecrated on the 17th February, 1793, but the temple is of much later date. The large temple on the southern slope of the hill called Jalamandira enshrines the modern statues of eight Tīrthankaras. Although the Jain texts speak of very high antiquity of this place, the temples are all of recent dates.

The Mandār hill, the sacred place of the Jains, about 30 miles to the south of Bhagalpur, is associated in Hindu mythology with the famous epico-Purāṇic story of the Amṛta-manthana or the churning of the ocean.* The place was visited by Buchanan, Franklin, Beglar, Bloch, R. B. Bose and R. L. Mitra, etc.

Beglar and Bose refer to a structure on the foot of the hill consisting of a large enclosure, surrounded by a wall built by stones and bricks. According to Bose, the building has 'a large hall in the centre with an adjoining verandah in front and six dark rooms on the side—only lighted through small apertures in the perforated windows, which are of various devices'.⁶⁵ He says that its 'roof was composed of long and spacious marble slabs, supported upon huge stone beams'.

62 *Ibid*, Vol I, pp 46ff, 51ff, *ASR*, Vol VIII, pp 130ff, Buchanan, *Bhagalpur*, pp 122ff, *ASI, AR*, 1903, pp 8f.

63 *ASR*, Vol XIII, p 73

*[The Mandara of Indian mythology is apparently not the hill near Bhagalpur —Ed]

64 *ASI, AR, Bengal Circle*, 1902-03, p 13. See also Hunter, *op cit*, Vol. XVI, pp. 216ff.; *BODG*—Hazaribagh, pp 202ff. [There is an error in the date —Ed]

65 *Ind. Ant*, Vol I, pp. 46ff.

Beglar believed that the building belonged to the Śrāvakas or Jains as one of the rooms contained the foot-print of a Tirthankara.⁶⁶ The Jain temple on the summit of the hill is of modern date. The general character of the ruins of temples, tanks, images and inscriptions found from the Mandār hill show that it has been a sacred place of both the Jains and the Hindus.

Another important sacred place of the Jains in Bihar is the Kuluha hill, about 6 miles to the south-west of Munger in the Hazaribag District. On the western foot of the hill, Stein⁶⁷ noticed a small mound of stones, with a small Jain image of Pārśvanātha with the usual snake-hood canopy over its head. Local people call it Dvārapāla. There are two groups of crude rock-cut sculptures of the Jain Tirthankaras known as Dasāvatāra images, apparently for their number ten in each group. The first group consists of five standing and five seated figures of the Jains. Another group of ten figures of the Jinas, located at a short distance, are all seated and each of them have a female chowrie-bearer on either side.⁶⁸ The sculptures are highly corroded and defaced and contain inscriptions on the top, which require fresh examination.

Stein noticed a pair of foot-prints cut into the rocks and considered them to be of the Jain Tirthankaras though the local people believed them to be of Viṣṇu. The inscriptions

66 *ASR*, Vol VIII, pp. 130ff. See also Buchanan, *Bhagalpur*, pp. 122ff, *Ind Ant*, Vol I, pp 51ff., *Bihar District Gazetteers—Bhagalpur*, pp 31ff, *ASI, AR, Bengal Circle*, 1903, pp 8-9

67 *Ind Ant*, Vol XXX, pp 90ff. See also *JASB*, 1901, pp 31-37

68 P C Roychoudhury, *op. cit*, Pl III. For details about the Kuluha hill, see Hunter, *op cit*, Vol XVI, p 29, *BODG—Hazaribagh*, p. 202, P C Roychoudhury, *op cit*, pp 40ff. In 1953, Kuluha hill was visited by D C Sircar who has published an inscription of the place giving the name of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Viṣṇugutpa* whom Sircar assigns to the Later Gupta dynasty [The Later Gupta monarch Viṣṇugupta flourished about the close of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century A.D.—Ed.]

found on the hill, however, show that some of the ruins would date about the 7th or 8th century A D

Another place of importance for the Jains is Gulzarbagh in Patna. There lie two Jain temples near the Gulzarbagh Railway Station. One of these bears an inscription dated Vikrama 1848 (1792 A D.) The epigraph records that the temple was constructed by the whole congregation living at Pāṭaliputra and was dedicated to Śrī-Sthūlabhadra, referred to above. The temples are built on a high mound concealing some ancient ruins

XIII

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN THE JAIN SŪTRAS*

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Stray references to folk beliefs and observances, rituals and festivals, arts and crafts, etc., occur in some of the Jain Sūtras as will be seen below.

A passage in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* refers to the practices of observing *vratas* and fasts and giving alms to the Śramaṇas : ‘ They strictly keep the Posaha fast on the fourteenth and eighth days of the month, on certain festivals and on full moon days. They provide the Nirgrantha Śramaṇas with pure, acceptable food, drink, dainties and spices, with clothes, alms-bowls, blankets and brooms, with drugs and medicines, with stools, planks, beds and conches. They purify themselves by practising the *śīlavratas* and *gṛha-vratas*, the *viramana*, the *pratyākhyāna*, the Posaha fasts and austerities which they have vowed to perform.”¹ The *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* also refers to the rules of conduct for a householder . “He should never neglect the Posaha fast in both fortnights, not even for a single night.”²

Festivals observed in honour of various deities are mentioned in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*. “A monk or a nun on a begging tour should not accept food, etc., in the following case . when in assemblies or during offerings to the manes, or on a festival of Indra or Skanda or Rūdra or Mukunda or demons or Yakṣas or the snakes or a festival in honour of a tomb, a shrine, a tree, a hill, a cave, a well, a tank, a pond, a river, a lake, the sea, a mine when on such festivals many Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, guests, paupers and beggars are enter-

[This note was received in March, 1973.—Ed]

1 *Jaina Sūtras*, trans , H. Jacobi, Part II, *SBE*, Vol XLV, pp 383-84
[Read couches’ for conches’ —Ed]

2 *Ibid* , p 23. The *posana* of the Jains corresponds to the *uposatha* of the Buddhists

tained with food, etc”³ Further, it is said, “A monk or a nun should not, for the sake of hearing sounds, go to great festivals where women or men, old, young or middle-aged ones, are well dressed and ornamented, sing, make music, dance, laugh, play, sport, or distribute plenty of food, drink, dainties and spices.”⁴ In the *Kalpa Sūtra*, ceremonies associated with the birth are described thus “The parents of Mahāvīra celebrated the birth of their heir on the first day, on the third day they showed him the Sun and the Moon, on the sixth day they observed the religious vigil, after the eleventh day, when the impure operations and ceremonies connected with the birth of a child had been performed, they arranged a great feast on the twelfth day .. Then they bathed, made offerings [to the house gods] and performed auspicious rites and expiatory acts .”⁵ On the eve of the celebration of birth day of the Tīrthankara, the king ordered that the town ‘be decorated with variously coloured flags and banners, and adorned with painted⁶ pavilions, that the walls bear impressions, in Gosīrsa, fresh red sandal,* of the hand with outstretched fingers, the luck-foreboding vases be put on the floor, and pots of the same kind be disposed round every door and arch, that big, round and long garlands, wreaths and festoons be hung low and high, that the town be furnished with offerings . that players, dancers,** wrestlers, boxers, jesters, story-tellers, ballad-singers, actors, messengers, pole-dancers, fruit-mongers, bagpipers, lute-players and many *Tālācaras* be present’⁷

The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* refers to the study of astrology, the art of interpreting dreams, divination from diagrams, augury,

3 *Ibid*, Part I (SBE, Vol XXII), p 92 [The quotation is not quite accurate —Ed]

4 *Ibid*, p 185

5 *Ibid*, pp 254-55 [The quotation is not quite accurate —Ed]

6 According to the commentary, this may also be translated as ‘smeared with cowdung and whitewashed’ (*ibid.*, p 252, note 2)

*[The original has *gośīrṣa* and *dardara* The latter is explained by Jacobi as ‘sandal brought from Dardara’ —Ed]

**[The reference to ‘rope dancers’ is carelessly omitted from here.—Ed.]

7 *Ibid*, pp 252-53

bodily marks, portents, and omens.” In the same Sūtra, we are told : “Some men.. study various evil science.. viz. [the divination] from terrestrial accidents, from strange phenomena (e g., the laughing of monkeys), from dreams, from phenomena in the air, from changes in the body, from sounds, from mystical science* (*lakṣana*, such as, *śāstika*, etc.), from seeds (sesamum, beans, etc.) ; [the interpretation of] the marks of women, men, elephants, cows, partridges, cocks, ducks, quails, of wheels, parasols, shields, sticks, swords, precious stones, jewels ; the art to make one happy or miserable, to make a woman pregnant, to deprive one of his wife, incantations, conjuring (*udrajāla*), oblations of substances, the martial arts, the course of the Moon, the Sun, Venus and Jupiter, the falling of meteors, great conflagration ; divination from wild animals, the flight of crows, showers of dust, rain of blood, the *vaitālī* and *ardhavaitālī* arts, the art of casting people asleep, of opening doors, the art of Cāṇḍālas, of Śābaras, of Draviḍas, of Kalingas, of Gauḍas and of Gāndhāras ; the spell for making somebody fall down, rise, yawn ; for making him immovable or cling to something, for making him sick, or sound ; for making somebody go forth, disappear (or come) ”⁸ Such practices are not approved by the author of the text : “They practice a wrong science, the unworthy, the mistaken men ”¹⁰ Elsewhere it is said, “The stupid sinners... go to hell through their superstitious beliefs ”¹¹

And again, “Perfection is not attained by ablutions or tending a fire.”¹² Reference occurs in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* to auspicious rites and expiatory acts for counteracting bad dreams,¹³ making an offering to the house gods,¹⁴ the prac-

8 *Ibid*, Part II, p. 317

+ [Read ‘signs’ —Ed]

9 *Ibid.*, pp 366-67.

10 *Ibid*, p 367.

11 *Ibid*, Part I, p. 33.

12 *Ibid*, Part II, pp. 294-95.

13 *Ibid*, p 371.

14 *Loc. cit*

tice of adorning the floor with auspicious figures,¹⁵ the vow of silence,¹⁶ first portion of the meal being thrown away in honour of the gods,¹⁷ the precautions regarding food, etc., taken by the pregnant women,¹⁸ and burying the treasures in the wells or house walls.¹⁹ The text also refers to beliefs in merits acquired in previous life, pilgrimage,²⁰ cycle of births, *mokṣa* (deliverance), effect of *karman*, heaven and hell, etc.²¹ The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* refers to the slaying of animals for sacrificial purpose,²² festivals preceded or followed by a feast or entertainment and wedding and funeral dinner.²³ In the *Kalpa Sūtra*, we are told that Trīśalā, in order to save her auspicious dreams²⁴ from being counteracted by other bad dreams, remained awake by means of [hearing] good, auspicious, pious, agreeable stories about gods and religious men.²⁵ King Siddhārtha summoned the interpreters of dreams who well knew the science of prognostics.²⁶ The *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra* mentions four kinds of gods,²⁷ viz (1) Bhavanavāsīn—Asura, Nāga, Suvarṇa, Vidyut, Agni, Dvīpa, Udadhi, Vāta, and Ghanika (Kumāras),* (2) Vyantara—Piśāca, Bhūta, Yakṣa, Rāksasa, Kinnara, Kimpuruṣa, Mahoraga, and Gandharva,

15 *Ibid*, Part I, p 230

16 *Ibid*, Part II, p 321

17 *Ibid*, Part I, p 99.

18 *Ibid*, p 250

19 *Ibid*, p 248

20 *Ibid*, Part II, p 62

21 *Ibid*, pp 279-86

22 *Ibid*, Part I, p 12

23 *Ibid*, pp 94-97

24 The auspicious dreams of Trīśalā related to the following—an elephant possessing all lucky marks, a bull, a lion, Śrī the goddess of beauty, a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a vase full of water, a lake, the milk ocean, a celestial abode, a heap of jewels, and fire (*ibid*, pp 231-38)

25 *Ibid*, p 240

26 *Ibid*, pp 245-46

27 *Ibid*, Part II, pp 225-26

*[They are Asura-kumāra, Nāga-kumāra, etc —Ed]

(3) Jyotiṣka—the Moon, the stars,* the *raṅgātmas*, the planets, and the host of stars; (4) Vaimānika who are of two kinds : those who are born in the heavenly *kalpas* and those who are born in the regions above them.

Reference also occurs to various folk arts and crafts which, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

*[Read 'the moons, the suns'.—Ed.]

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CORRIGENDA

- Page 9, line 15.—*Read*—Rṣabha
,, 28, note 8.—*Read*—Stevenson
,, 38, line 20 —*Read*—Comprehending
,, 48, line 11 —*Read*—*Devāram* (1*)
,, 50, line 6 —*Read*—Bhadrabāhu
,, 57, line 5.—*Read*—manuscript
,, 60, line 1.—*Read*—Akalanka
,, ,, line 3 —*Read*—Niṣkalanka
,, 72, line 17.—*Read*—newborn
,, ,, line 24.—*Read*—efforts
,, 74, line 22 —*Read*—Pāṭalīputra
,, 75, line 24.—*Read*—*Śrutakevalins*
,, 76, line 25.—*Read*—Rājaśekharasūri
,, 79, note 28.—*Read*—Winternitz
,, 80, line 15.—*Read*—*niryuktis*
,, 85, note 49, line 4.—*Read*—introduction
,, 96, line 5.—*Read*—We had

followed by other northern countries) and Kāñcīpura The inscription does not say what he did at Kāñcīpura ; but the mention of 'the beating of drum' suggests that he went there with the intention of challenging and inviting religious disputants.

Another interesting feature of his activities is the conversion of a king called Śivakōṭi to Jainism and, according to the Jain tradition as recorded in the *Rājavalīkathā* of Devacandra, Śivakōṭi was a king of Kāñcī. The king, on perceiving the miracle performed by the Jain teacher, is said to have abdicated, taken *dīkṣā* and come to be called Śivakōṭi Ācārya ³⁰ It may be noted that the palm-leaf manuscript from Jina-Kāñcī mentions one Śivakōṭi as the 25th propagator, after Sāmanta-bhadra and before Pūjyapāda. The identity of the kings Śivakumāra and Śivakōṭi and the periods of their rule over Kāñcī are matters on which nothing can be said.

There is, however, little reason to doubt that Sāmanta-bhadra's activities accentuated the spread of the Jain faith in the Tamil country, particularly at Kāñcī and the surrounding regions. Not a mere 'promulgator' of the Jain doctrine, this famous teacher was also a great writer and his advent in South India marks an important epoch in the annals of the Digambara tradition.

Pūjyapāda is the next important name in the promulgation of the Jain faith in the Tamil country, as mentioned in the Jina-Kāñcī manuscript. A Pūjyapāda is said to have been the preceptor of Vajranandin who founded the Drāvida Sangha in Madurai in c. 470 A.D. ³¹ Jain tradition speaks of a Pūjyapāda who practised *yoga*, acquired psychic powers, travelled throughout South India, encountered disputants and vanquished them in open debate. He made valuable contributions to Jain philosophy, logic and grammar through his writings. ³²

³⁰ A. Narasimhachar, *Kavīcarite*, Vol I, pp. 2-4, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol II, Intro, p. 83, note 4.

³¹ *Journ. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol XVII, p. 74; Upadhye, *Pravacanasūtra*, Intro, p. xxi.

³² M. V. Krishna Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 55, B. A. Saletore, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; *Kavīcarite*, Vol. I, pp. 164-65, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol II, No. 64.

His date is a matter of controversy, B. L. Rice placing him about the first half of the 7th century as the spiritual preceptor of the Ganga king Durvinita and Narasimhachar assigning him to the latter half of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century A.D.³³ If the latter date is the correct one, then he may have been the same as Vajranandin's preceptor

Akalanka was the next Jain teacher, whose activities at Kāñcī are said to have resulted in the complete annihilation of the Buddhists about the close of the 8th century A.D. He is said to have defeated the Buddhists in disputation at the court of king Himaśītala and procured their expulsion from South India.³⁴ Numerous epigraphs from Karnāṭaka refer to this victory of Akalanka, but the identity of king Himaśītala remains a matter of uncertainty. Akalanka is believed to have been a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Dantidurga and hence is assigned to the latter part of the 8th century A.D.³⁵

According to one of the Mackenzie Manuscripts, Himaśītala was a king of Kāñcī. Akalanka, it is said, was partly educated in the Buddhists' college at Pontagai, disputed with them in the presence of the last Buddhist prince Himaśītala and defeated them. The prince became a Jain and the Buddhists were banished to Kandi.³⁶ The Buddhist college is said to have existed at Ālipadaitāngi, a Buddhist settlement between Jina-Kāñcī and Arcot (?). The two Jain students, Akalanka and Niskalanka, who had come to study there, quarrelled with the Buddhist teachers and left the school. Akalanka went to Śravana Belgola and studied Jain philosophy, became a monk and returned to the east. He defeated the Buddhist teachers in a learned assembly presided over by the king.³⁷ Karaṇḍai or Tirupparambūr, about twelve miles from

33 B. A. Saletore, *op cit*, pp. 19, 22.

34 M. S. Ramaswamy Ayyangar, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 31.

35 *Ibid*, p. 33.

36 *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, Vol. I, ed. T. V. Mahalingam, Madras, 1972.

37 *Loc cit.*, W. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Mackenzie Collection*, pp. 423-24.

Jina-Kāñci, is said to have been the seat of Akalaṅka. The Jina-Kāñci manuscript, cited earlier, also gives the names of Akalaṅka and Niskalakṇa after Pūjyapāda, as the principal propagators of the Jain faith ³⁸

K. R. Subramaniam identifies Himaśītala with Hiranyavarman, father of Nandivarman Pallavamalla ³⁹. In 718 A.D., the ruler of Kāñci was Nandivarman Pallavamalla himself. Curiously enough, this king is said to have persecuted the Jains, and evidence for it is supposed to exist among the historical sculptures of the Vaikuntha Perumāl temple at Kāñci-puram ⁴⁰. Again, in the Udayendiram copper-plates of his period, the king is said to have confiscated the lands of those whose observances were not in accordance with the law (*dharma*) and granted them to Brāhmanas with all exemptions ⁴¹. This is taken to be a reference to the Jains and the confiscation of their lands by the king. But Jain inscriptions of Nandivarman's time are quite numerous and indicate that he was in no way a persecutor of the Jains.

An account of the Jain centres in Tondaimandalam under the Pallavas and other ruling families is furnished below.

Under the Pallavas In the time of Nandivarman II, several Jain centres seem to have flourished, particularly in the hilly regions of the North Arcot District. One of them was Vedāl which had a monastery (Vidār-pallī) and also a nunnery ⁴². It continued to be an important centre under the Cōla king Āditya I, who supplanted Pallava power in Tondaimandalam ⁴³.

Agalūr, near Vedāl, had a Jain institution, to which a grant was made in the 50th year of Nandivarman II (780-81 A.D.) ⁴⁴

38 T. N. Ramachandran, *op cit*, pp. 19, 216.

39 *The Origin of Śaivism and its History in the Tamil Land*, p. 41.

40 M. Rajamanickam, *Periya Purāna Āraṇcci*, pp. 271-72.

41 *S. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. II, p. 372, lines 74-75.

42 *A. R. Ep.*, 1908, No. 82.

43 *Ibid.*, Nos. 83-84.

44 M. D. Sampath, 'Jain Inscriptions of Sāttamaṅgalam', in *Seminar on Inscriptions*, p. 161.

Not far from Vedāl is a hill called Pañcapāndavamalai (also known as Tīruppāṇmalai) on which the sculpture of Poṇṇiya-kkiyār (Siddhāyikā), attended by a Jain teacher, Nāganandin, was caused to be engraved by a private individual in the 50th year of the same ruler ⁴⁵ Nāganandin was a pupil of the Jain preceptor Simhanandikkuravadigal of Ānanūr. This hill continued to flourish as a Jain stronghold under the Cōla kings Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I ⁴⁶

Sāttamangalam is another village in the same region, where a Jain temple with a monastery, existed in the periods of Nandivarman II and Kampavarman and also under the Cōlas. Inscriptions of Nandivarman II dated in his 14th (744-45 A D.) and 56th (786-87 A D.) regnal years record gifts for feeding ascetics in the local temple. The gifts were made by the Jain teachers, Ilayārappanandi and Jinadiyār ⁴⁷ Under Kampavarman about (875-76 A D.), the Jain temple was renovated, a *mukhamandapa* was added, a shrine for Yakṣa Bhattāri was built and gifts were made by Māndavi, wife of Kādagatiyanayar. ⁴⁸ An inscription (995 A D.) of Rājarāja calls this temple 'Vimala-Śrīyārya-Tīrtha-paḷḷi' ⁴⁹

Nandivarman II also seems to have made grants to the Jain temple at Perumandūr in the South Arcot District. The inscription, which records the gift, mentions the name of the king as Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, originally regarded as a Gaṅga-Pallava ⁵⁰

Thus the period of Nandivarman II represents an important epoch for the Jain faith in Tondaimandalam. Most of the Jain centres of this period belong to the North Arcot District and the discovery of Karuppankunru adds one more in the Chingleput District. Quite a few Jain centres seem to have flourished under the Pallavas in the South Arcot District.

45 *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, p 136, *SII*, Vol II, p 251

46 *Ep Ind*, IV, pp 137ff, *SII*, Vol VII, No. 56

47 M D Sampath, *op cit*, pp 157ff

48 *Loc cit*

49 *Loc cit*

50 *A. R. Ep*, 1902, No 220, *SII*, Vol VII, No 847

also, such as Tirunaruṅṅondai, Perumandūr, Cittāmūr, Śōlavāṇḍipuram, Tondūr Olakkūr and Pallicandal. Yet, in these centres, no Pallava inscriptions have come to light, while epigraphs from the early Cōla period are numerous.

Under the Cōlas Under Āditya I, a nunnery headed by Kanakavīrakuratti existed at Vedāl in the North Arcot District.⁵¹ The same nunnery (*pen-paḷḷi*) probably finds mention in an inscription (945 A.D.) from Viḷāppākkam, dated in the reign of Parāntaka I, which records the sinking of a well by Paṭṭinikkurattiadigaḷ, a female disciple of one Aristanēmi-piḍārar of the Tiruppāṇmalai, the latter hill being not far from Vedāl. The well and a house were constituted into a nunnery under the supervision of the 'twenty-four' of the place.⁵²

Parāntaka I made a gift of gold to Vardhamānapperiyadigaḷ of Jinagrippaḷḷi, an important Jain monastery at Ānandamangalam in the Chingleput District in the 10th century A.D.⁵³ Ānandamaṅglaṁ contains a hillock with Jain sculptures on a big boulder representing Nēminātha and his Yakṣi Dharmadevī, and Mahāvīra and his Yakṣi Siddhāyikā. Parāntaka I also made endowments to the Jain temples at Tirumalai in the North Arcot District, and Palliccandal in the South Arcot District.⁵⁴

Early Cōla records from Śōlavāṇḍipuram in the South Arcot District speak of the endowments made to the local Jain institution by a Mīlāḍu chief under the Cōla king Gandarāditya in the latter part of the 10th century A.D.⁵⁵ The grants were made for the maintenance of ascetics and entrusted to Guṇavīrabhaṭāra of Kuṇṇḍi. At Śōlavāṇḍipuram, rock-cut beds and sculptures of Jain deities are found on the hill. Similar rock-cut beds are found also at Tondūr in the same District, where two Cōla inscriptions refer to a Jain monastery (?) known as Vaḷuvāmoliḍḍippperumpalḷi, to

51 *SII*, Vol IX, No 2

52 *Ibid*, Vol. VII, No. 56.

53 *A R Ep.*, 1902, No 430

54 *SII*, Vol I, No. 94, No 446 of 1937-38

55 *A. R Ep*, 1936-37, No 252

which grants of *paḷḷivilāgam* and *paḷḷiccandam* were made by a local chief ⁵⁶ A Gandarādittapperumpallī existed at Paḷḷiccandal (Jambai) in the South Arcot District. ⁵⁷

Tirakkol in the North Arcot District, which contains a big boulder with Jain sculptures, was another Jain centre of the early Cōḷa period Three inscriptions of a Parakesari-varman record gifts to the local Jain temple of Vardhamāna, which was known as Gangasūrapperumpallī ⁵⁸ This village is also situated not far from Veḍāl

Among the Cōḷas the most well-known benefactors of the Jains were Rājarāja I and his elder sister Kundavaī The latter rebuilt the Jain temple at Tirumalai, which dates from much earlier times, and hence it came to be called Kundavaī Jinālaya ⁵⁹ She built another Jain temple, also called Kundavaī Jinālaya, at Dādāpuram in the South Arcot District and made costly endowments to it ⁶⁰ She was also the author of the Jain temple at Tirumalavādi in the Tiruchirappallī District ⁶¹ As mentioned earlier, Tiruppānmalai in the North Arcot District received the patronage of Lāṭarāja Vira Cōḷa (993 A D), a feudatory of Rājarāja I ⁶² The Jain temple of Appāndār at Tirunarungonḍai in the South Arcot District also received the benefactions of Rājarāja I, and Kundavaī seems to have caused a tank to be dug in the same place ⁶³

Rājendra figures as the donor of the above temple ⁶⁴ and the one at Tirumalai A Virakeralaperumpallī existed at Salukki in the North Arcot District during his time ⁶⁵

56 *Ibid*, 1934-35, No 84, Part II, para 11.

57 *Ibid*, 1937-38, Nos 446, 448

58 *Ibid*, 1916, No 277

59 *SII*, Vol I, No 94 Tirumalai is called 'Tunḍirāhvaya Maṇḍalārha Sugiri' in an 11th century inscription (*Ep Ind*, Vol VII, pp. 331ff)

60 No 8 of 1919.

61 *SII*, Vol I, Nos 67-68

62 *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, pp 137ff.

63 No 385 of 1902

64 No 300 of 1939 40

65 No. 474 of 1920

The Cōlas were great patrons of the Jain temple at Karandai or Tirupparambūr in the North Arcot District. This temple is called Virarājendrapperrumpallī after the Cōla king Virarājendra and consists of two shrines, one for Kunthunātha and the other for Vardhamāna, the latter being called Tiruk-kāttāmpallī Ālvār in the inscriptions⁶⁶ Virarājendra, Kulottuṅga I and Rājarāja III made liberal endowments to this temple⁶⁷

Kulottuṅga I and his son Vikramacōla also patronised the Jain temple of Tirupparuttikunṇam Ārambhanandi, an eminent Jain teacher, belonged to this centre, which had a *Ṛṣi-samudāya* to manage the temple affairs⁶⁸ Renovations and additions to the Vardhamāna temple were made in the time of Kulottuṅga III, in the form of shrines and *mandapas*⁶⁹ Eminent teachers like Candrakīrtti, 'the *ācārya* of Kōttaiyūr', and his disciple Anantavīrya Vāmana added to the importance and prestige of this Trīkūta-basti or three-shrined temple under the Cōlas⁷⁰

The Cōlas were also the greatest patrons of the temple and *maṭha* at Cittāmūr in the South Arcot District, which continues to be the headquarters of the Pontiff of the Tamil Jains even today. Kāttāmpallī or Tiruvūrāmpallī, as this temple is known in the Cōla inscriptions, became an important centre for the worship of Pārśvanātha⁷¹

In the 12th century, the Śāmbhuvarāya feudatories of Rājarāja II patronised the Jain temple called Iravikulasundarapperrumpallī at Perumandūr in the South Arcot District⁷² One of them, by name Viravīra, appears to have been the builder of a Jain temple named after him as Viravīra Jinālaya

66 No 135 of 1939-40

67 Nos 129, 132, 135 and 141 of 1939-40.

68 Nos 381-382 of 1928-29

69 T N Ramchandran, *op cit*, pp 25-26, 34.

70 *SH*, Vol. II, App VI, 461, T N Ramchandran, *op cit*, Inscriptions Nos 3, 18 and 22

71 *SH*, Vol VII, Nos 828-29.

72 *Ibid*, Nos. 846, 848

at Pūṇḍi in the North Arcot District.⁷³ It is now known as the Ponninātha temple. Under a later Śāmbhuvarāya chieftain of the middle of the 14th century, a private individual provided for a metal image of the deity to be made at Tīrumalai.⁷⁴

The Cedirāyas and Kādavarāyas, feudatories under the Cōlas in the 12th-13th centuries, made liberal endowments to the Appāṇḍār temple at Tīruarunṅonḍai. This temple, which contains two shrines dedicated to Candraprabha and Pārśvanātha, is called Nārpatteṇṇāyirapperumpallī probably after a merchant corporation of the Cōla period.⁷⁵

Kopperuṅṅinga, the greatest of the Kādavarāya rulers, seems to have been a great patron of the Jain faith in the 13th century A D. His inscriptions show that he endowed several Jain institutions in Tondaimandalam with gifts. Tīrupparuttikunṅam received his benefactions in the form of additions to the temple, apart from other grants.⁷⁶ The Kunthunātha temple at Karandai was the recipient of his largesses.⁷⁷ This 'Pallavar Kōn' or 'Alagiya Pallavaṇ' was also the patron of the Vardhamāna temple at Tīrakkol in the North Arcot District.⁷⁸

Under the Pāṇdyas The Pāṇdyas of the second empire did not withhold their patronage from the Jain institutions of Tondaimandalam. Two centres in the North Arcot District received their endowments. The temple of Nāyanār Aniyādalīgiyāi (Bāhubalī ?) at Ōdalavādi was one of the recipients of land grants made about 1271 A D under Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulaśekharadeva (I).⁷⁹ Similarly, the temple of

73 *Ibid*, No 62

74 *Ibid*, Vol I, No 70

75 Nos 299, 301, 310-11, 313, 317 and 319 of 1939-40, *SII*, Vol VII, No 1911

76 No 383 of 1928-29, *SII*, Vol VII, No 399, T N Ramachandran, *op. cit*, p 47, Ins No 17

77 Nos 140, 142 and 143 of 1939-40

78 T N Subramanian, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol I, No 124, pp 134-35

79 *A R Ep*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, Part II, para 53

Ādinātha at Ponnūr received endowments in the time of Māṇavarman Vikramapāndya about 1289 A.D.⁸⁰

Under the Gungas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Gaṅgas, whose kingdom was founded probably with the help of the Jains, also find mention in some important records of Tondaimandalam⁸¹ Attimalla (Hastimalla) *alias* Kannaradeva Pṛthvī-gangaraiyan, a Gaṅga ruler, set up an image of Ṛṣabhadeva and provided for its offerings by making a gift of the village of Korramaṅgalam. This tenth century inscription is engraved on a pillar, which originally belonged to a Jain temple, but is now found built into the Draupadī temple at Padiyampattu in the North Arcot District.⁸²

Under Rājamalla, another Ganga ruler of the 10th century, Vallimalai in the North Arcot District was an important Jain centre.⁸³ The local hill contains sculptures of four Jain preceptors, two of which were caused to be made by one Ajjanandi who was perhaps the greatest of the Jain teachers living in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. and was famous all over Tamilnadu as evidenced by inscriptions mentioning him at places like Ānaimalai, Aivarmalai, Uttamapālaiyam, Karuṅgālakkuḍi and Koṅgar Puliyāṅgulam in the Madurai District and Eruvādi in the Tirunelveli District.⁸⁴

An inscription of a later period, also from Vallimalai mentions Bhavanandi who may be identified with the author of the *Nannūl*, a work on Tamil Grammar. He is believed to have been patronised by a Gaṅga ruler named Amarābharanan Śiyagaṅga who was a contemporary of the Cōla king Kulottunga III (12th-13th century A.D.).⁸⁵

Under Kīṣṇa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of the 10th century, a gift of lamp was made at Tirumalai by a servant of

80 No 415 of 1928-29

81 B. A. Saletore, *op cit*, pp. 8-13

82 No. 140 of 1941-42.

83 *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, pp 140ff.

84 Nos 692 and 729 of 1905, No 54 of 1910; No 562 of 1911.

85 *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, pp 140ff

Gaṅgamādevī, the queen of that monarch.⁸⁶ Gangamādevī was evidently a Ganga princess, and it is well known that the Gangas were ardent followers of the Jain faith. The prestige and importance of Tirumalai as a Jain settlement from very early times are established by the fact that the religious heads of Śravaṇa Belgola were often chosen from the Jains of Tirumalai.⁸⁷

Ārmāmalai in the North Arcot District has a Jain cave with some mutilated paintings assignable to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the 10th century A D

Under the Vijayanagar Kings. From the 14th century onwards, the Jain centres of Tamilnadu shared with the other institutions the generous endowments of the enlightened rulers of Vijayanagar. At Tirupparuttikuṇṇam, Irugappa, a Vijayanagar general, built the Sangita-maṇḍapa in the Vardhamāna temple about 1387 A D at the instance of his spiritual - guru Puṣpasena.⁸⁸ He granted the village of Mahendramangalam to the god Trailokyanātha (Vardhamāna) for the merit of prince Bukkarāya, son of Harihara II.⁸⁹ Malliṣeṇa Vāmana and his disciple Puṣpasena were two important preceptors of this period. The former was the author of several works in Sanskrit and Tamil and won the title *Ubhayabhāṣākavīcakravartin* for his learning.⁹⁰ Puṣpasena, who is called a Munipungava and Paravādimalla, constructed the *gopura* of the temple.⁹¹ Paintings representing the life stories of the Tirthankaras and their attendant deities were executed in the *maṇḍapas* of this temple during the Vijayanagar and subsequent periods.

Under Bukkarāya, the Jains made a representation to the king against some injustices alleged to have been done to them

86 No 65 of 1907

87 T A. Gopinatha Rao, 'Jaina Centres in South India', *Malabar Quarterly Review*, IV

88 No 42 of 1890, T N Ramachandran, *op. cit*, p. 57.

* 89 No 41 of 1890, *Ep Ind*, Vol VII, p 115

90 Nos 98 and 100 of 1923, T N Ramachandran, *op cit*, p 24

91 No 98 of 1923.

by the Vaisnavas. The emperor brought about a compromise between the Jains and Vaiṣṇavas by his famous declaration that the two sects must not be viewed as different and that the Vaisṇavas should protect the Jain sect. This proclamation involved the Jains and Śrīvaisnavas of the Tamil country.⁹²

In the time of Devarāya II, a Jain temple was erected for Rsabhanātha in Kunrai or Kunnattūr in the North Arcot District in Śaka 1363 (1441 A.D.)⁹³. The Vardhamāna temple at Tācāmbādī in the same District was also constructed during his period.⁹⁴

Sāluva Narasimha appears to have patronised the Jain temple of Ādinātha at Ponnūr in the North Arcot District.⁹⁵ This village was a centre of the Jvālāmālīnī cult popularised by one Helācārya who probably belonged to the period before 900 A.D.⁹⁶

Kṛṣṇadevarāya, the greatest of the Vijayanagar rulers, made endowments to the Trailokyanātha temple at Jina-Kāñci.⁹⁷ The same monarch patronised the Virarājendra-pperumpallī at Karaṇḍai.⁹⁸

The Appāṇḍār temple at Tirunarūṅḍai was the recipient of endowments under the Vijayanagar rulers in the 14th and 15th centuries A.D.⁹⁹ Gunabhadra, a Jain sage, who established the Virasangha (*Vīrasanghapraṭiṣṭhācārya*) lived at this centre about the 14th century A.D. He is said to be the *guru* of Maṇḍalapuruṣa, the famous lexicographer (author of the *Cūḍāmanīnigandu*), who was a native of Perumandūr and flourished in the time of Kṛṣṇadevarāya.¹⁰⁰

Acyutarāya ordered the remittance of taxes for offerings and worship in the Jain temple of Vijaya-nāyakaṛ at Jambai

92 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol II, No 334

93 No 144 of 1941-42

94 *A. R. Ep.*, 1941-42, No 155

95 No 417 of 1928-29

96 *A. R. Ep.*, 1928-29, Part II, para 74.

97 *SII*, Vol IV, No 368, Vol VII, No 398

98 No. 144 of 1939-40.

99 No 304 of 1939-40

100 No 303 of 1939-40, M. Raghava Iyengar, 'Maṇḍalapuruṣa and his Age', *Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc.*, Vol XIII, p 487

near Palliccandal in the South Arcot District ¹⁰¹ The same king also made liberal endowments to the Jain temple called Tiruvakkiāṇḍa-Tambirānār at Vēlūr at the request of his subordinate Bomma-nāyaka ¹⁰²

Other Centres There are a few more important centres in the Chingleput District, where Jain inscriptions, sculptures and temples exist In Śīruvākkam, there was a Jain temple called Śīkaraṇapperumpallī in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D ¹⁰³ Uttiramērūr Perunagar, Ārpākkam, Āryaperumpākkam, Viṣār and Kunnattūr also possess Jain vestiges Māgaṛal has a dilapidated temple dedicated to Ādinātha ¹⁰⁴ Tradition attributes the decline of Jainism in this region to Tirujñāna-sambandar whose activities were directed mainly against the Jains of Madurai.

Kīrappākkam in the same district formerly contained a Jain temple known as Deśavallabha-jinālaya, which was constructed about in the 9th century by one Amaramudalguru of the Yāpanīya-sangha and Kumīḷigaṇa ¹⁰⁵ The inscription which records this event proves beyond doubt that the Yāpanīyas existed in the Tamil country also and that the sect was not confined to Kārṇāṭaka, as held by P B Desai ¹⁰⁶

Śēdārampaṭṭu in the North Arcot District contains rock-beds with a triple umbrella carved on one of them on a hill locally called Pañcapāṇḍavarṭippa Since there are no inscriptions or Jain sculptures here, its date cannot be determined ¹⁰⁷

Cakramallūr ¹⁰⁸ and Brahmadeśam ¹⁰⁹ in the North Arcot District and Koliyanūr ¹¹⁰ and Śīnganikkuppam in the South

101 No 449 of 1937-38, Part II, paras 22 and 70

102 Nos 122-23 of 1919

103 No 64 of 1923

104 A R Bp, 1923, Part I, para 8

105 No 22 of 1934-35

106 P B Desai, *op cit*, pp 164, 166

107 A R Ep, 1939-40 to 1942-43, 19 Part II, para 158

108 Nos 25, 33, 37 and 41 of 1940-41

109 No 221 of 1915

110 SH, Vol IV, No 64, Vol VI, No 65

Arcot District are the other important Jain centres, most of which flourished during the Cōla period.

Pudukkalani near Āmūr in the South Arcot District contains a boulder with Jain sculptures, one of which represents Pārśvanātha and is assignable to the 9th century A.D.¹¹¹

At Puḷal near Madras there is a temple for Ṛṣabhadeva, which probably owes its origin to the Cōlas. The temple now goes by the name of Emmāṅkoyil. According to one of the Mackenzie manuscripts, there was a Jain temple dedicated to Neminātha at Vāmanāthapura (Mylapore, Madras), which fell into ruins due to sea erosion. However, the image of Neminātha is said to have been removed to Cittāmūr for safety.¹¹²

111 *A. R. Ep*, 1910-11, Part I, para. 3; 1939-40 to 1942-43, Part I.

112 W. Taylor, *op cit*, p. 372.

IX

VARĀHAMĪHIRA AND BHADRABĀHU

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Varāhamihira is justly reckoned as a doyen of the astronomers and astrologers of ancient India. He surpassed all other fellow-workers in the field by composing standard works, both copious and abridged, on all the three branches of Jyotiṣa, viz., (i) *tantra* (mathematical astronomy), (ii) *horā* (horoscopy), and (iii) *śākhā* or *samhitā* (natural astrology). Several of his writings have come down to us.¹ Unfortunately we possess very meagre information regarding his life and times. From what he himself tells us we know that he was the son as well as a pupil of one Ādityadāsa and a resident of Avantī and obtained a boon from the Sun-god at a place called Kāpitthaka.² His *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (I.8) specifies the Śaka year 427 (505 A D) which evidently has reference to the date of the composition of the work. We also have some evidence to indicate that he was a Sun-worshipping Maga Brāhmaṇa. His son Pṛthuyāśas was also an astrologer and his work, *Satpañcāśikā*, is still extant.³

Some late Jain writers narrate stories which seek to establish some relationship between Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu. Thus, the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* tells us that in the city of Pāṭaliputra, there lived a Brāhmaṇa boy named Varāha who was, ever since his birth, devoted to the study of astrology. But because of poverty he had to subsist by tending

1 These include the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, *Bṛhajjātaka*, *Laghujātaka*, *Yogayātrā*, *Tīkanikayātrā*, *Bṛhadyātrā*, *Pañcasiddhāntikā* and *Vivāhapaṭala*. Of these, the *Bṛhadyātrā* and *Vivāhapaṭala* still remain unpublished. For a collection of the available fragments of the *Samāsasamhitā*, vide my paper in *Bhār Vid*, Vol XXIII, pp 23-39.

2 *Bṛhajjātaka*, XXVIII.9

3 For a full discussion of Varāhamihira's life, date and works, see A. M. Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi, 1969, Ch I.

cattle. Once he drew a horoscope (*lagna*) on the surface of a rock, but forgot to efface it before returning home in the evening. On remembering it he went back to the spot in the night only to find a lion sitting over it; but he effaced the drawing fearlessly by putting his hand under the lion's belly. The lion gave up his animal mask and appeared as the Sun-god and told him to ask a boon. Varāha requested him to show him the entire circle of stars and planets whereupon the god had him seated in his transport and enabled him to examine closely the movements of all the heavenly bodies. When he returned after a year he became famous as Varāhamihira in allusion to the favour of the Sun-god (Mihira), was patronised by king Nanda and composed a treatise on astrology called *Vārāhī Samhitā*. Once when a son was born to him, he closely examined the moment and from his intimate personal knowledge of the planets prophesied a hundred-year life for the newborn babe. All but his younger full-brother, the Jain teacher Bhadrabāhu, came to him with presents and participated in the festivities marking the occasion. Varāha complained to the Jain minister Śakaṭāla about it. On being told about it, Bhadrabāhu said that he had not attended the function as, according to his calculation, the child would meet death from a cat on the 20th day. And notwithstanding all the efforts to prevent the calamity the prediction came out true, and the child expired in the night as an iron chain bearing an engraved figure of a cat fell on his head. Varāhamihira was utterly disappointed and was about to consign all the books to fire when Bhadrabāhu came to console him and prevented him from doing so. But being envious of Bhadrabāhu, Varāhamihira took recourse to black magic and caused trouble to some and death to some others of his (Bhadrabāhu's) lay followers whereupon Bhadrabāhu composed a new hymn (*stotra*) called *Uvasaggaharapāsa* with the object of averting these disturbances.⁴

⁴ The same episode, with some minor differences and elaboration of details, is related by Rājasekharasūri in his

⁴ *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, ed. Jinavijaya Muni, Singhī Jaina Series, No. 1, Santiniketan, 1939, Prakāsa V, pp. 118-19.

Prabandhakōśa, also known as *Caturvimśatiprabandha* It may be summarised as follows

Two poor but intelligent Brāhmana boys named Bhadrabāhu and Varāha lived at Pratiṣṭhānapura in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Once the Jain patriarch Yaśobhadra, who knew the fourteen Pūrvas, came over there. Bhadrabāhu and Varāha heard his sermon and became Jain monks. Bhadrabāhu acquired the knowledge of the fourteen Pūrvas and possessed thirty-six qualities. He attained great fame as the composer of the *niryuktis* (commentaries) on the ten canonical works, to wit, *Daśavaikālikasūtra*, *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*, *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Kalpasūtra*, *Vyavahārasūtra*, *Āvasyakasūtra*, *Sūryaprajñapti*, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, *Ācārāṅgasūtra* and *Rṣibhāṣita*, and also composed a work called *Bhādrabāhavī Samhitā*. After the passing away of Yaśobhadrasūri, both Bhadrabāhu and Sambhūtivijaya (who also possessed the knowledge of the fourteen Pūrvas) lived amicably and wandered independently. Varāha, who too was a scholar, wanted his brother Bhadrabāhu to confer on him the status of *sūri*. Bhadrabāhu declined the request as Varāha, though learned, was puffed up with pride. Thereupon Varāha gave up the vow and again lived the life of a Brāhmana. On the basis of his study of the sciences when he was a Jain monk, he composed a number of new works including the *Vārāhasamhitā* and circulated the rumour of his acquisition of the knowledge of astrology by the favour of the Sun-god as narrated in the above story from the *Prabandhacintāmanī* and thereby attained great celebrity. Pleased with his learning, Śatrujit, king of Pratiṣṭhānapura, appointed him his priest. Varāha hurled abuses on the Śvetāmbaras who were upset and sent for Bhadrabāhu. In the mean time, Varāhamihira was blessed with a son for whom he predicted a full 100 years' life, and the occasion was fittingly celebrated. Varāhamihira complained that Bhadrabāhu, although he was his full-brother, did not participate in the festivities. On hearing it, Bhadrabāhu explained away his action by predicting the child's death from a cat on the seventh day. The incident took place and Bhadrabāhu consoled his brother.

exactly as narrated in the *Prabandhacintāmanī*. But a Jain layman, reminded of the earlier insult of his faith by Varāhamihira, condemned the latter in the harshest possible words. On knowing the whole episode and being introduced to Bhadrabāhu, the king, who had come to console Varāhamihira, embraced Jainism. Thereupon Varāhamihira began to hate Jainism and caused a lot of troubles to the Jain laity. To avert this calamity Bhadrabāhu compiled from earlier works a prayer entitled *Uvasaggaharapāsa* comprising five stanzas. The story ends with the statement that Bhadrabāhu's successor, Sthūlabhadra, who also had the knowledge of the fourteen Pūrvas, destroyed other faiths.⁵

This story with minor changes is narrated in some other works also. Thus, in the *Sukhabodhinī* commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, the same anecdote as found in the *Prabandhacintāmanī* is related with the only difference that here the episode centres round the son of Varāhamihira's royal patron, and not round Varāhamihira's own son.⁶

A comparative analysis will reveal that there are some minor differences between the versions of the story as found in the *Prabandhacintāmanī* and the *Prabandhakosa*. In the former, the venue of the episode is located at Pāṭliputra, while the latter places it at Pratiṣṭhāna. While the former makes out the episode as occurring during the reign of king Nanda, the latter gives the name of the king as Śatrujit Merutunga does not mention, like Rājasekharasūri, the anecdote of Varāhamihira's first becoming a Jain ascetic and then reverting to the life of a Brāhmaṇa out of jealousy of his brother Bhadrabāhu and leaves the impression that, while Bhadrabāhu became a Jain monk, Varāhamihira throughout led the life of a Brāhmaṇa astrologer. Again, whereas the *Prabandhakosa* speaks of Bhadrabāhu as a pupil of Yaśobhadra, a contemporary of Sambhūti-vijaya, and as the teacher of

5 *Prabandhakosa*, ed. Jinavijaya Muni, Singhī Jaina Series, No 6, Santiniketan, 1935, Prabandha I (Bhadrabāhu-Varāha-prabandha), pp. 2-4.

6 Tribhuvandas L. Shah, *Ancient India*, Vol IV, Baroda, 1941, pp 338-39. On the basis of Jain evidence, Shah avers that the *Varāhasamhitā* was composed 156 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* (*ibid*, p 339).

Sthūlabhadra, no such statement is found in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*. Likewise, while the *Prabandhakośa* describes Yasobhadra, Bhadrabāhu, Sambhūtivijaya and Sthūlabhadra as possessing the knowledge of the fourteen Pūrvas (*caturdaśa-pūrvin*), the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* does not make any such explicit statement. And lastly, the death of Varāhamihira's son according to Bhadrabāhu's prediction took place on the 20th day according to the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, while this event is placed on the 7th day by the other work which further adds that, as a result of this incident, Varāhamihira's royal patron got himself converted to Jainism. Obviously the *Prabandhakośa* version, although composed only fortyfour years after the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*,⁷ marks a great elaboration of the original story and overplays the rivalry between Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu in particular and between Jainism and Brāhmanical Hinduism in general. But fundamentally, there is no difference between these versions. By placing the incident during the reign of king Nanda, Merutunga also identifies Bhadrabāhu, the central figure of his story, with the homonymous *caturdaśa-pūrvin* Jain patriarch.

If any historical value were to be attached to the above story, Varāhamihira will have to be regarded as a contemporary, nay even brother, of Bhadrabāhu who, according to the Jain tradition, was the last of the *śrutakevalins* and flourished a few centuries before Christ.

There is no unanimity among the Jains about the date of the *śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu. The Digambara tradition as incorporated in the *Tiloyapannattī*, *Dhavalā*, *Jayadhavalā* and other works unanimously gives 162 years as the total period of the pontificate of the three *kevalins* and five *śrutakevalins* after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*.⁸ According to the Śvetāmbara tradition

⁷ The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, as stated in its colophon (p. 125), was completed in Vikrama 1361 expired corresponding to 1306 A.D., while Rājaśekharaśūrī finished his *Prabandhakośa* in Vikrama 1405 (p. 131) or 1349 A.D.

⁸ For a full discussion, see Karlash Chandra Sastri, *Jaina Sāhitya kā Itihāsa . Pūrvapīṭhikā*, Varanasi, pp. 337-39.

recorded in Hemacandra's *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* and other works, on the other hand, Bhadrabāhu passed away when 170 years had elapsed since Mahāvira's *nirvāṇa*.⁹ Although some Jain works place the end of the rule of the Nanda dynasty, which coincided with the close of the pontificate of Sthūlabhadra, 215 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira and thereby make Bhadrabāhu flourish in the Nanda period which is said to have lasted for 155 years, the tradition recorded by Hemacandra which places Candragupta Maurya's accession 155 years after Mahāvira's death and the evidence of some Jain writers¹⁰ and inscriptions from Mysore¹¹ which make out a case for the contemporaneity of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta Maurya appear more trustworthy.¹² And what is most pertinent in the present context is, while the Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions considerably differ between themselves as regards the order and names of the spiritual successors of Mahāvira and the exact length of the period covered by their pontificate,¹³ the date they assign to the *śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu falls in the fourth century B.C. Thus he lived over eight centuries before Varāhamihira who, as we have seen above, can be definitely assigned to the sixth century A.D. on the basis of the internal evidence of his own writings.¹⁴

In view of the above chronological position of the *caturdaśa-pūrvin* Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira, the tradition recorded by Merutunga and Rājaśekherasūri which represents

9 *Ibid*, pp 339f, also M Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, Calcutta, 1933, pp 462, 476

10 Cf Harīṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākośa* (Singhi Jain Series, Bombay, 1943), pp 317-19

11 B Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* (London, 1919), pp 3-4

12 For a discussion of the whole question, vide Kailash Chandra Shastri *op cit*, pp 342-46, also V A Smith, *Early History of India* (Oxford, 1957), p 154, *Oxford History of India* (Oxford, 1923), pp 75-76, H C Raychaudhuri *Political History of Ancient India* (6th ed, Calcutta, 1953), pp 294-95

13 Kailash Chandra Shastri *op cit*, pp 339-40

14 For a detailed discussion of Varāhamihira's date, see A M Shastri, *op cit*, pp 4-18

them as contemporaries must be set aside. It must be pointed out in this connection that, while there may be a substratum of truth in some of the near contemporary episodes related by these two Jain writers of the fourteenth century A D,¹⁵ they evince an utter lack of historical sense as regards the earlier period. Not to speak of very ancient times, even the stories narrated by Merutuṅga about Bhoja, the Paramāra king of Malwa, who flourished in the eleventh century A D, are an amalgum of incredible legends and suffer from anachronism. To cite only a few examples, he would have us believe that the celebrated poets Bāna and Mayūra, who are known to have lived in the first half of the seventh century A D. and enjoyed the patronage of the Puṣyabhūti king Harṣavardhana, actually adorned the court of Bhoja of Malwa.,¹⁶ likewise, he relates an amusing story about the friendship of the poet Māgha, who is known on independent grounds to have flourished in the latter half of the same century, and king Bhoja.¹⁷ Then again he speaks of a place called Kalyānakaṭaka as the capital town (*rājadhānī-nagara*) of the country of Kānyakubja which is said to have comprised thirty-six lakhs of villages.¹⁸ This statement is very curious inasmuch as Kānyakubja itself enjoyed the status of the imperial capital first of the Maukharis and Harṣavardhana and then of the Āyudhas and the imperial Pratihāras and no town named Kalyānakaṭaka is known from any other source to have existed in the proximity of Kanauj. Similar is the case with the *Prabandhakośa*. It refers to king Śātavāhana as the founder of an era (*samvatsara*),¹⁹ evidently the so-called Śālivāhana-Śaka which actually owes its origin to the Śakas after whom it was known for a long time.²⁰ Then again it attributes the

15 The stories concerning the Caulukyas come under this category

16 *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Prakāśa 2, pp 44-45

17 *Ibid*, Prakāśa 2, pp 34-36

18 *Ibid*, Prakāśa 1, p 11

19 *Prabandha* 15, p 68

20 G. H. Ojha, *Bhāratiya Prācīna Lipimālā* (Delhi, Vikrama 2016), pp 170-73, D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi, 1965), pp 258-67. [The era is often regarded as the reckoning of Kaṣṣka I of the Kuṣāṇa clan —Ed.]

Sārasvatavyākaraṇa to the same king²¹ whereas a more popular tradition assigns it to Śarvavarman. Likewise, it mentions Meghacandra as the son and successor of Jayantacandra (*i. e.*, Jayaccandra) who himself is represented as the son and successor of Govindacandra, king of Vārāṇasī, evidently the famous Gāhadvāla ruler of that name.²² This is an illustration of the most flagrant distortion of near contemporary history, for we learn from numerous Gāhadvāla inscriptions that after Govindacandra came his son Vijayacandra and after the latter his son Jayaccandra who was followed by his son Hariscandra.²³ These examples picked up at random would suffice to show that even as regards near contemporary events no great historical value attaches to the statements of these two authors, not to speak of episodes said to have taken place several centuries before their own time. It would, therefore, not be surprising if the story concerning Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira is totally unhistorical and baseless.

It is, however, pertinent to note in this connection that the available evidence indicates the existence of more than one Jain teacher named Bhadrabāhū who were separated from one another by a few centuries. The *śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu, who, as shown above, flourished in the second century after the passing away of the last Jain Tirthankara, may be conveniently referred to as Bhadrabāhu I. As he lived prior to the division of the Jain church between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects, he was honoured by the followers of both the sects and is consequently mentioned in the literary traditions of both of them. As the later teachers of this name belonged only to one or the other of the two main sects, they are referred to in the literary works emanating only from the followers of the concerned sect.²⁴ Thus, the Digambara

21 *Prabandhakośa*, Prabandha 15, p. 72.

22 *Ibid*, Prabandha 11, p. 54

23 *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, (Bombay, 1966), pp. 54-55.

24 This reminds one of the Buddhist councils, only the first two of which are known to the undivided Buddhist church whereas the subsequent ones, being of sectarian nature, are mentioned only in the works of the respective sects.

Paṭṭāvalis belonging to the Nandi-saṅgha and the Sarasvatī-gaccha mention two Bhadrabāhus, the first of whom was the last *śrutakevalin* and is said to have been the disciple of the fourth *śrutakevalin*, Govardhana, and expired 162 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* ²⁵ The second Bhadrabāhu is spoken of as having flourished 492 years after the death of Mahāvīra, that is, in Vikrama 22 or 35 B C and is described as the pupil of Yaśobhadra His pontificate is said to have covered twenty-three years, i.e., 35-12 B C The Paṭṭāvali of the Nandi Āmnāya of the Sarasvatī-gaccha begins with him ²⁶ It must be pointed out in this connection that the famous Digambara author Kundakunda describes himself in his *Chappāhuda* (*Saṭprābhṛta*) as a pupil of Bhadrabāhu ²⁷ who is generally identified with the second teacher of this name known to the Digambara tradition ²⁸ There is, however, a serious difficulty in accepting this identification This Bhadrabāhu is spoken of as well-versed in the twelve Angas and fourteen Pūrvas, ²⁹ a description applicable only to the first Bhadrabāhu. It is also noteworthy that Kundakunda refers to Bhadrabāhu as a *gamaya-guru* (*gamaka-guru*) or traditional teacher, and not as an ordinary teacher. Kundakunda had, thus, nothing to do with Bhadrabāhu II

25 As stated above, the Śvetāmbaras place his death 170 years after Mahāvīra's passing away

26 H. Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, intro, pp 10ff, *Ind Ant*, Vol II, p. 245, Vol. XXI, pp. 57ff This Bhadrabāhu is mentioned only in the Paṭṭāvalis, other texts remaining reticent about him According to some scholars, the episode of the migration of the Jain community to South India recorded in literature and some late inscriptions from Mysore was connected with Bhadrabāhu II See J F Fleet in *Ind Ant*, Vol XII, pp 156ff, Kailash Chandra Shastri, *op cit*, pp 350-351. The suggestion is, however, not satisfactory

27 *Saṭprābhṛta* (by Surajbhan Vakil, Varanasi, 1910), Bodha-pāda, verse 62

28 M Winterniz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, pp 476-77, 577

29 *Bārasa-Aṅga-viṃśaṇam caūddasa-Puvvanga-viula-vittharaṇam/*
Suyanani Bhaddabāhu gamaya-guru bhayavao jayau/

As shown above, a late Śvetāmbara tradition recorded by authors of the fourteenth and subsequent centuries of the Christian era mentions a certain Bhadrabāhu who is spoken of as a brother and rival of the astronomer-astrologer Varāhamihira³⁰. Although he is represented as a *caturdaśa-pūrvīn*, his alleged contemporaneity with Varāhamihira, whose date is known from his own works, seems to point to the existence of yet another Bhadrabāhu who lived in the sixth century A.D. We may call him Bhadrabāhu III. This Bhadrabāhu is credited with the authorship of a number of works including *niryuktis* on ten works of the Jain canon, an astrological treatise entitled *Bhādrabāhavī Samhitā* and a *stotra* consisting of five verses called *Uvasaggaharapāsa*. It is pertinent to note here that much earlier unanimous Śvetāmbara tradition recorded in the *niryuktis*,³¹ *bhāṣyas*³² and *cūrṇis*³³ of the Jain canon attributes the authorship of the Cheda-sūtras³⁴ to the *caturdaśa-pūrvā-dhara* Bhadrabāhu.

A critical analysis of the above data would reveal that, from fairly early times, some confusion prevailed about the personages bearing the name Bhadrabāhu and that the activities of one Bhadrabāhu were often attributed to another bearer of this name. Thus, while both the Dīgambara and Śvetām-

30 *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Prakāśa 5, pp 118-19, *Prabandhakosa*, Prabandha 1, pp 2-4

31 The *niryukti* on the *Daśāśrutaskandhasūtra* mentions Bhadrabāhu as the author of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra*. For the text of the verse, see *Bṛhat-Kalpasūtra* with the *niryukti*, a *bhāṣya* by Sanghadāsagaṇi Kṣamāśramana and a commentary by Malayagiri, edited by Muni Caturvijaya and Muni Puṇyavijaya, Vol VI (Bhavnagar, 1942), Gujarati intro, p 1

32 The author of the *Pañcakalpamahābhāṣya* also refers to Bhadrabāhu as the composer of the *Daśā*, *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra* and repeatedly calls him *suttakāra*. For the original text, cf *ibid*, p 2

33 The *chūrṇi* on the *Pañcakalpabhāṣya* gives Bhadrabāhu the credit of composing the *Ācāraprakalpa* or *Niśīthasūtra*, *Daśā*, *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra*. For the text, see *ibid*, p 3

34 The *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Kalpa*, *Vyavahāra*, *Niśītha*, *Mahānisītha* and *Pañcakalpa* are known as Cheda-sūtras

bara traditions are unanimous in representing Bhadrabāhu of the fourth century B.C. as the possessor of the knowledge of the twelve Aṅgaṣ and fourteen Pūrvas, the Dīgambara Paṭṭāvalis alone clearly distinguish him from Bhadrabāhu II who was separated from the former by an interval of about three centuries. Again, the Dīgambaras do not give to either of these Bhadrabāhus the credit of composing either the *niryuktis* or the *Bhādrabāhavī Samhitā*. On the other hand, the Śvetāmbaras clearly mention only one Bhadrabāhu, the *śrutakevalin* who is said to have passed away 170 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna*. But while the earlier tradition speaks of him as the author of the Cheda-sūtras only, some late writers credit him with the authorship of the *niryuktis*, the *Bhādrabāhavī Samhitā* and the *Uvasaggaharapāsa* also. The earliest writer to represent him as the author of the *niryuktis* is Sīlānka who lived in the eighth century A. D. and speaks of him both as *niryukti-kāra* and as *caturdaśa-pūrva-dhara* in one and the same breath ³⁵. The same belief is re-iterated by some later writers like Śāntisūri, Dronācārya, Maladhāri-Hemacandra, Malayagiri and Ksemakīrti ³⁶. But they do not utter a single word about Bhadrabāhu's mastery over astrology. It was left to some late authors of the fourteenth and following centuries to lay stress on this aspect. Nay, we may even aver that an excessive emphasis on this aspect relegates his other religious and literary activities to the background. Thus was brought into being the fully developed personality of Bhadrabāhu which is an article of faith with the generality of the Śvetāmbaras today. But this belief involves serious anachronism. The overwhelming internal evidence of the *niryuktis* themselves leaves no room for doubt that they were composed much later than the fourth century B.C. when the *śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu is reputed to have flourished. To cite only a few illustrations.

35 *Anuyoga-dāyinaḥ Sudharmasvāmi-prabhīrtayaḥ yāvad=asya bhagavato niryukti-kārasya Bhadrabāhusvāmunaś=caturdaśa-pūrva-dharasy=ācāryo=taś=tān sarvān=iti* (Sīlānka's commentary on the *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, quoted *ibid*, p. 4).

36 For citations, see *ibid*, pp. 4-5.

The *Āvaśyakaniryukti* refers to later Jain *ācāryas* like Bhadrāgupta, Ārya Sīṃhagiri, Vajrasvāmin. Tosaliputra, Āryarakṣita, Phalgurakṣita, Ārya Suhastin, etc., by name and alludes to events connected with them.³⁷ The *Uttarādhyayana-sūtraniryukti* not only mentions Sthūlabhadra with respect (he is styled *Bhagavat*), but also narrates the story of Kālākācārya who is well known in connection with the legends centering round Vikramāditya and thus assignable to the first century B C.³⁸ The *Pindaniryukti* names Pādalipta and Vajrasvāmin's maternal uncle Samita and relates the ordination of the Tāpasas of Brahmadvīpa and the origin of the Brahmadvīpika-śākhā.³⁹ And lastly, the *Oghaniryukti* represents its author as paying obeisance not only to saints possessing the knowledge of the fourteen Pūrvas, but also to those versed in ten Pūrvas and eleven Aṅgas,⁴⁰ which can refer only to the post *śrutakevalin* period and would be anachronistic if the *niryuktis* were to be regarded as composed by the *caturdaśa-pūrvīn* Bhadrabāhu.⁴¹ Not that the commentators of the *niryuktis* were not aware of these anachronisms, but the pressure of tradition weighed so heavily that they attempted to explain away these anachronistic trends by resorting to some ingenious devices. Thus, Śāntisūri in his gloss on the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* observes that the presence, in the *niryuktis*, of illustrations alluding to later events should not lead one to suppose that they were composed by some other person, for that illustrious *śrutakevalin* possessing the knowledge of fourteen Pūrvas was capable of perceiving anything relating to the past, present and future.⁴² Likewise, referring to the obeisance of the

37 *Ibid*, pp. 5-8.

38 For the original text, see *ibid*, pp. 7-8 [The Vikramāditya tradition is really much later.—Ed.]

39 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

40 *Arahaṃte vamdittā caūdasā-puvvī taḥ=eva dasa-puvvī*

Ekkāras-aṃga-suttattha-dhārae savva-sāhū ya (quoted from *loc. cit.*)

41 For some other anachronisms, see *ibid*, pp. 5-14.

42 *Na ca keṣāñcid=ih=odāharaṇānāṃ niryukti-kālād=arvāk-kāla-bhāvitā ity=any-oktatvam=aśankaniyam, sa hi bhagavāms=caturdaśa-pūrva-vit śruta-kevalī kāla-traya-viṣayaṃ vastu paśyaty=ev=eti katham=anya-kṛtatv-aśaikā iti* (*ibid.*, p. 4).

author of the *niryuktis* to those knowing the ten Pūrvas, etc., Dronācārya in his commentary on the *Oghaniryukti* states that there is no harm in Bhadrabāhu saluting them, for though inferior to him in point of knowledge, they possessed more virtues⁴³ But such explanations can hardly succeed to bring a modern reader round the traditional view that the *niryuktis* emanate from the *śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu And then the *niryukti* on the *Daśāśrutaskāndha* commences with a salutation to Bhadrabāhu himself, described as the author of the *Daśā*, *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra*,⁴⁴ which should more than suffice to dismiss the belief as a fiction The only solution which can satisfactorily explain all the relevant facts is that the *niryuktis* were composed by a later Bhadrabāhu who was, as pointed out by Muni Punyavijaya,⁴⁵ confused with his *śrutakevalin* predecessor bearing the same name because of the identity of name

When did this Bhadrabāhu flourish? We have stated above that the Digambaras know of a second Bhadrabāhu who is assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C. The Śvetāmbara tradition, which appears to have no knowledge of a Bhadrabāhu in the first century B.C., mentions another Bhadrabāhu who from his alleged contemporaneity with Varāhamihira seems to have flourished in the sixth century A.D. It should be noted, however, that there is considerable similarity between the details of personal life narrated in connection with these personages. Thus both are described as pupils of Yaśobhadra and their knowledge of astrology is also emphasised. These similarities are too great to be set aside

43. *Guṇ-ādhikasya vandanam karttavyam na tv=adhamasya, yata uktam—guṇ-āhuc vandanayam; Bhadrabāhusvāmīnaś=caturdaśa-pūrva-dharatvād daśa-pūrva-dhar-ādīnām ca nyūnatvāt kim teṣām namaskāram=asau karoti iti, atr=ocyate guṇ-ādhikā eva te, avyavacchitti-guṇ-ādhikyāt, ato na doṣa iti (ibid, p. 4).*

44. *Vamdāmi Bhaddabāhum pāṇam carima-sagala-suyananim/ Suttassa kāragam=issim Dasāsu Kappe ya Vavahāre//*

(quoted *ibid.*, p. 13).

45. *Ibid*, pp. 1-17.

as incidental. We also know that the late Śvetāmbara tradition, which speaks of Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira as contemporaries, does not distinguish him from the *śrūta-kevalin* Bhadrabāhu and is full of many other anachronisms. Thus, in spite of the alleged association with Varāhamihira, we would not be quite unjustified if we conclude that the *niryuktikāra* and astrologer Bhadrabāhu of the Śvetāmbara authors is probably no other than Bhadrabāhu II of the Digambara tradition.⁴⁶ But if any value is to be attached to the reported association of Bhadrabāhu with Varāhamihira described by late Śvetāmbara writers, he will have to be regarded as Bhadrabāhu III. Some scholars accord the credit of composing the *niryuktis* to Bhadrabāhu II⁴⁷ and others to Bhadrabāhu III⁴⁸. Both these suggestions are equally probable. And according as we accept one or the other of these views, the composition of the *niryuktis* will have to be placed in the first century B.C. or sixth century A.D.

Muni Puṇyaviṇayaḥ goes a step further and suggests that the same Bhadrabāhu who composed the *niryuktis* about the sixth century A.D. was also responsible for the composition of the astrological treatise known as *Bhādrabāhavī Samhitā* after his own name and the *Upasargaharastotra*.^{48a} As regards the latter work, we have nothing to say. But it is difficult to accept his suggestion about the authorship of the former

46 It must be remembered in this connection that a late tradition met with in the *Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa* makes Varāhamihira one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya who is credited with the institution of the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. In case it is held that Merutuṅga and Rājaśekharaśūri followed this tradition which was quite popular in their time, the identification of the two Bhadrabāhus will have to be regarded as a certainty.

47 *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, ed. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Calcutta, 1957), p. 662.

48 Puṇyaviṇaya, *op. cit.*, intro., pp. 1-17.

48a *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17. In support of his proficiency in astrology, Puṇyaviṇaya invites attention to some statements with astrological implications found in the *niryuktis* and to the fact that the *Sūryopajñapti* was one of the texts chosen by Bhadrabāhu for writing his *niryuktis*.